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## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES.

THE announcement of the death of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, which occurred at Haigh Hall, Wigan, his Lancashire seat, on Friday, the 8th of March, at the age of 69 years, has cast a deep gloom over the institutions of scholarship and art with which for many years he had been so closely associated, and in which he took such an active personal interest.

The Right Honourable David Alexander Edward Lindsay, P.C., K.T., twenty-seventh Earl of Crawford, tenth Earl of Balcarres, Lord Lindsay of Crawford, Lord Lindsay of Balcarres, Lord Balniel in the Peerage of Scotland; and Baron Wigan of Haigh Hall, County Lancaster, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, was the eldest son of the twenty-sixth earl, who died in 1913, and was known throughout the world as a man of science, traveller, and collector. His son inherited many of his tastes and talents. He was born on 10th October, 1871, at Dunecht, Aberdeenshire. He entered Eton in 1886, his tutors being the future Dr. Lyttelton and the late A. C. Benson. He proceeded to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1894 with honours in History, and where he was elected to an Honorary Fellowship in 1923. He was President of the Union in 1894, and it fell to him to represent the Union at Padua, when, even then, his Italian was fluent.

In 1895 he entered Parliament as Conservative member for the Chorley Division of Lancashire. This constituency he continued to represent until 1913, when, upon the death of his father, he took his seat in the House of Lords as Baron Wigan, and resigned the post of Conservative Chief Whip in the Commons, to which he had been appointed in 1911. During his

tenure of that office he was largely responsible for the amalgamation of the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist organisations. He was private secretary to Mr. Gerald Balfour when Chief Secretary for Ireland, and a Junior Lord of the Treasury from 1903 to 1905, in which position he represented the First Commissioner of Works in the House of Commons. Early in the last war, although from 1898 to 1903, after passing through Sandhurst, he had served as captain in the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the Manchester Regiment, he entered as a private in the Royal Army Medical Corps, and served in France for over a year as Corporal Crawford. He was then gazetted temporary Second Lieutenant, but within a week his military career was cut short by his appointment as President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. In 1918 he was made Lord Privy Seal, with Cabinet rank, holding the two offices together. In 1919 he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in the spring of 1921 First Commissioner of Works, an office he held for eighteen months, and then, in 1922, he served as Minister of Transport in succession to the second Viscount Peel.

This was more or less the end of his political career, for he never held office again, and in the same year he ceased to be Deputy-Leader of the House of Lords. Instead, he devoted himself more and more to service of another kind, and to his literary studies. His interests and knowledge of art were wide, and in Italian sculpture profound. He achieved literary fame with his study of Donatello, whom he regarded as the real founder of modern sculpture. The " Donatello " was followed by " Critical Studies and Fragments " (1905), and by " The Evolution of Italian Sculpture " (1909). Other studies, reprinted from the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, were " John Lyly," " The Soul of Cities," and " Dante as Artist." He also edited, with an introduction, the literary remains of his friend Arthur Strong. The many addresses he delivered to various societies from the presidential chair reached a high level of knowledge and eloquence, and we dare to hope they may be collected and published.

Since the beginning of the century the Earl of Crawford had been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was

afterwards president, and of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In 1924 he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the same year the University of Cambridge conferred upon him the honorary doctorate of D.C.L. Indeed, the Universities vied with each other to honour him: St. Andrews led the way in 1911 with its LL.D.; Manchester followed in 1923, the year in which it also made him its Chancellor; Edinburgh followed in 1926 with its LL.D.; and Liverpool in 1928 conferred upon him the degree of D.Litt.

Among the offices he filled during his extraordinarily full life were trusteeships of the British Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery; presidencies of the London Society, the Ancient Monuments Society, the Roxburghe Club, and of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, the chairmanship of the Royal Fine Art Commission and the vice-presidency of the British Drama League. He was also a member of the Council of the British School at Rome, of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, and for some time was honorary secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Indeed, there is scarcely a society of historical, antiquarian, literary, or artistic interest of any importance which did not command his support.

Lord Crawford was a scholar of distinction, and was ever ready to lend his name and the authority of his scholarship to the service of learning. Another of his aims was to improve the conditions of life of those less happily placed, and to give to them their share of the beauties of art and the wonders of nature, and he enthusiastically promoted every movement for preserving the beauties of the countryside. At one time he was a resident of Oxford House, in Bethnal Green, where he worked as a member of the local committee of the Charity Organisation Society. Few men, it used to be said, knew better the Ratcliff Highway, and he shared in the management of the numerous clubs and societies inaugurated by Oxford House in the district.

Lord Crawford's connection with the University of Manchester dates back to 1918, when he was elected a member of the Council, but his more intimate association with it is marked

by the year 1923, when his installation as Chancellor took place in the Free Trade Hall.

By Lord Crawford's death the University mourns the loss of a great and beloved Chancellor whose interest from the first was most intimate. He was profoundly concerned with all aspects of its work and kept in close touch with every development.

His visits to the University were not confined to the ceremonial occasions which he graced with such dignity and distinction, for he delighted also in those frequent informal contacts which could be made with members of the governing body and the staff. At such times his wide knowledge and love of learning became markedly apparent.

The complete sympathy with all that a university stands for and his unwavering support for the cause of education, combined with his own scholarly interests and personal qualities, made him an ideal Chancellor, and the pride of the University in him was unlimited.

During Lord Crawford's term of office he did much to procure a wider recognition of the services which the University offers, and he laboured incessantly to show how the local educational authorities and the Universities were partners in a vitally important educational enterprise, and had great responsibilities.

At the time of Lord Crawford's death members of the University were looking forward to the presentation by Convocation of his portrait, painted by Mr. James Gunn, which would have been presented last autumn if the war had not broken out. Unfortunately this cannot be, but to quote the Vice-Chancellor's (Professor J. S. B. Stopford) tribute : " We require no portrait to help us to keep fresh the memory of our beloved Chancellor. The inspiration, ideals, and examples which he gave us will live on and be a source of encouragement."

Lord Crawford was the senior trustee of the John Rylands Library, and took a deep personal interest in its affairs, principally on account of the famous collection of 6000 manuscripts which had been acquired by Mrs. Rylands from his father, the twenty-sixth Earl, in 1901. After his succession to the earldom in 1913, his interest in the library grew to such an extent that

whenever any of his varied interests called him to Manchester, he would invariably make time to visit Deansgate, if only for a few moments, in order to keep in touch with its activities.

The Crawford manuscripts, in which naturally the Earl was most interested, formed but a small, though a very precious, part of the great private library, known as the " Bibliotheca Lindesiana," one of the few surviving great private libraries of the country, which is housed in Haigh Hall, the Lancashire seat of the Crawfords. The library owes a great deal to the foresight and scholarly judgment of successive members of the House of Lindsay. The taste for art and literature has for long been a characteristic of the Earl's family. The record of the Clan Lindsay is a remarkable one, covering a period of seven centuries. A list of the writings of the members of the Clan, which includes poets, soldiers, ecclesiastics, politicians, hard-thinking men and gentle ladies, would astonish readers by its scholarship and variety. One of the Earl's ancestors was Lady Anne Lindsay, the writer of " Auld Robin Gray," and Robin's cottage still stands on the Balcarres House estate at Fife.

The " Bibliotheca Lindesiana," though shorn of its manuscript treasures, is still a live and noble library, containing a rich store of literary treasures, and Lord Crawford found great pleasure in sharing the joy of his possessions with others. Haigh Hall was frequently thrown open to members of learned societies, and Lord Crawford himself would arrange Exhibitions of such of his treasures as were suitable to the occasion, and would discourse in a most scholarly and entertaining way about them.

After the manuscripts, which now find a home in Manchester, had been withdrawn from Haigh Hall, there remained certain special collections which have given to the library a character and a distinction of its own. Probably nowhere in private hands are to be found such multitudes of broadsides, proclamations, English and Scottish ballads, papal bulls, civil war tracts, seventeenth-century newspapers and news-sheets. There is an extensive collection of Luther and Reformation tracts, one of the largest collections extant of De Bry's Voyages, collections of incunabula, including one of the very few complete sets of the surviving books printed at Subiaco and Rome by the two first

printers to set up a press in Italy (Sweynheym and Pannartz). There are early examples of the Scottish Press, and hosts of other rarities and subjects too numerous to mention.

The "Catalogue of the Printed Books preserved at Haigh Hall," which was printed and issued "for private circulation" in 1910, fills four large quarto volumes, consisting of nearly five thousand pages. It was dedicated by the father of the Earl, whose loss we mourn, "To the memory of my father, the best and wisest of friends, and also to my son, Lord Balcarres, to whom it is my joy to have been able to transmit the love of the 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana'."

On the occasion of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rylands Library's foundation, which took place on the 6th of October, 1924, when the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Manchester entertained the Trustees, Governors, and officials of the Library and their guests to a civic luncheon in the Town Hall, Lord Crawford crowned the ceremony by announcing that, as a mark of his appreciation of the service the Library was rendering to scholarship, he was presenting to it his collection of Proclamations and Broadsides issued in France and other countries of Europe between 1584 and 1849.

The gift consisted of a priceless collection of 20,000 proclamations, placards, and other broadsides and bulletins issued in France and other European countries between the years 1584 and 1849. It includes 10,000 which relate to the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Regime, the Restoration, and the Commune, ranging from 1789 to 1871. It is difficult to estimate the importance of this collection of unexplored material, many items of which are not to be found elsewhere.

This constitutes the most important gift made to the Library during the first quarter of a century of its history, or since, leaving out of account the founder's constant stream of gifts.

To further mark the commemoration, a selection of the most famous of the Crawford Manuscripts was displayed in the exhibition cases in the main library, and Lord Crawford, as he looked down from the gallery upon the manuscripts, expressed great delight to see displayed so many of the friends of his youth. "I am glad," said he, "to see them in such an appropriate

setting, where they are secure for all time against the risks of transportation or dispersal."

Lord Crawford took great interest in the exhibition and lecture schemes of the library, and on many occasions had himself contributed to the public lectures.

Lord Crawford married, in 1900, Constance Lilian, a daughter of the late Sir Henry Carstairs Pelly, M.P., the third baronet, who survives him. He also leaves issue of two sons and five daughters.

The heir to the title is the elder son, David Alexander Robert, Lord Balniel, M.P. for the Lonsdale Division of Lancashire, who has inherited his father's love of art and politics.

Lord Balniel was born in 1900, and educated, like his father, at Eton, and Magdalen College, Oxford, and was elected M.P. for the Lonsdale Division of Lancashire in 1924. He has served as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, to the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, and to the Minister of Health. He was appointed Chairman of the Trustees of the National Gallery in 1938, is a Trustee of the Tate Gallery, a member of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, Chairman of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, and a member of the Royal Mint Advisory Committee on Seals, Coins, Medals, and Decorations. He married, in 1925, Mary Katherine, third daughter of Lord Richard Frederick Cavendish, and they have three sons; the eldest, the Master of Lindsay, was born in 1927.

SIR ALFRED HOPKINSON.

It is with sincere regret that we have to record the death of Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., LL.D., etc., which took place on Saturday, the 17th of November, 1939, at the home of his son Martin, at Boxmoor, Hertfordshire, in the 88th year of his age.

Sir Alfred Hopkinson had been associated with the administration of the Rylands Library throughout the forty years of its history. He was one of the first members of the Council of Governors to be appointed, he filled the post of Chairman of that body for many years, and upon his removal to London he was

appointed an honorary governor. In 1912 Sir Alfred was made a Trustee of the Foundation, which is a life appointment.

Born at Manchester, on the 28th of June, 1851, Alfred Hopkinson was the second son of Mr. John Hopkinson, an eminent mechanical engineer, who filled the office of Lord Mayor of Manchester in the year 1882-1883.

He was educated at the school of Dr. Ernest Adams, and at Owens College, which he entered in 1866. At Owens he had the privilege of studying history and English in the classes of Professor (later Sir) Adolphus Ward. In 1869 he went up to Lincoln College, Oxford, as a Scholar, and in the following year he was awarded the Vinerian Scholarship, and was also elected to the Stowell Fellowship at University College, Oxford.

In 1873 Hopkinson was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and read in the chambers of Richard Copley Christie, who was Professor of Law at Owens College, and practised in the Palatine Court at Manchester.

In 1875 Christie, who was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese, resigned his practice at the Bar and also his Chair. Hopkinson succeeded to his chambers, and was appointed to the vacant Professorship, and for the next ten years he was absorbed by the work of his Chair, and by his large practice.

In 1889 Hopkinson resigned his Professorship of Law at Manchester, and removed to London, where in 1892 he became Queen's Counsel.

After several unsuccessful attempts, Hopkinson entered Parliament in 1895 as Unionist member for the Cricklade Division of Wilts.

At the close of 1897 Sir Adolphus Ward resigned the office of Principal of Owens College, and Hopkinson was elected to succeed him, whereupon he resigned his seat in Parliament.

In 1880 Owens became the centre and first college of the Victoria University, a federation of the University Colleges of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. Of that federal University Hopkinson became Vice-Chancellor.

In 1903 the University of Liverpool claimed a charter of its own, and Manchester at once claimed a like status.

It was under the auspices of Hopkinson that the Act of

Parliament was prepared by which Owens College was incorporated and merged in the University.

In 1910 Hopkinson received the honour of knighthood, and on various occasions honorary doctorates were conferred upon him by Manchester, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Leeds and Bristol.

In 1913 Sir Alfred resigned the Vice-Chancellorship of the University and removed to London, whence a little later he paid a visit to India in order to report upon the University of Bombay.

During the Great War he was Chairman of the Higher Munitions Tribunal for Yorkshire and the East Midlands, and of various trade boards and tribunals. In 1921 he became Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Treasurer.

In 1926 he was returned to Parliament as Unionist member for the Combined English Universities.

Sir Alfred's political ideas and his views of English affairs are set out in his work: "Rebuilding Britain: a survey of problems of reconstruction," published in 1918, and written for the most part before the Armistice. In 1930 he published "Penultima," a record of impressions. He contributed many articles on legal and political questions to the leading reviews and periodicals.

In 1873 he married the daughter of the late Mr. H. Wells of Nottingham, and there were four sons and three daughters of the marriage. Lady Hopkinson died in 1931, after fifty-eight years of happy married life.

It is with deep regret we learn of the death of Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, which occurred on Friday, the 22nd of March, at the age of eighty-one years.

PROFESSOR DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH.

David Samuel Margoliouth was of Hebrew-Polish stock, the son of an Anglican Missionary to the Jews. He was born in 1858 and was probably the most erudite boy who ever passed through Winchester College. Proceeding to New College, Oxford, he carried off with ease in his freshman's year the two blue ribands of Oxford classics, the Hertford and Ireland Scholarships. Thereafter, he turned his attention to Oriental

studies, securing, by the way, most of the university prizes offered in that field. A fellowship and lecturership followed in 1881, and he became a professor eight years later.

In the Laudian Chair of Arabic Professor Margoliouth was distinguished for erudition and research rather than by his gifts as a teacher. His knowledge of the Arabic language and literature was unrivalled in Europe, and he so distinguished himself that the critics, who had raised objections to the appointment of a young man of thirty-one to so important a Chair in the University, were silenced.

In his literary labours Professor Margoliouth disdained popular appeal. His principal works were editions of Arab doctors, including the great work of Yakut, "Dictionary of Learned Men," upon which he spent seven years. He was much interested in commentaries on Aristotle and the Old Testament, and he produced an edition of the "Poetics." Next to Yakut his great contribution to scholarship was making accessible to English readers the important Abassid Chronicles of Miskawaihi, which he produced in collaboration with H. F. Anedroz.

In the course of these studies Professor Margoliouth acquired that exceptional knowledge of the early development of Islamic belief which is enshrined in his Hibbert Lectures of 1913. His two most popular works were "Mohammed and the Rise of Islam," and "Mohammedanism," in the "Home University Library." In 1921 he delivered the Schweich Lectures, in which he discussed the relations between Arabs and Jews in early times. He was a Fellow of the British Academy and Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Margoliouth collaborated with Dean Payne Smith in his "Thesaurus Syriacus," and upon the latter's death he undertook to help his daughter, Miss Jessie Payne Smith, to carry that work to a conclusion—a task which occupied more than a quarter of a century. Margoliouth married Miss Smith in 1896. Mrs. Margoliouth died in 1933.

A very friendly relationship, extending over thirty-five years, existed between the Rylands Library and Professor Margoliouth, and when we were seeking an editor to undertake the publication of the Rylands Collection of Arabic Papyri, we were for-

tunate in being able to secure the services of so distinguished a scholar. In the Catalogue which Professor Margoliouth published in 1933, after thirty years of intermittent labour upon these fragments, much light has been thrown upon the social life of the period to which the documents belong, extending from the eighth to the twelfth century of our era. They are of a very fragmentary character, having been recovered from the rubbish-heaps, and are of the nature of papers of a domestic character which to-day would find a resting place in the waste-paper basket, but Professor Margoliouth has made them speak as no other scholar known to us could have done, and we preserve grateful memories of his services.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the death of the great scholar and administrator, Monseigneur Paulin Ladeuze, Bishop of Tibériade, the seventh Recteur Magnificus of the Université Catholique de Louvain, which occurred suddenly during the night of the 9th of February.

MONSEIGNEUR LADEUZE, RECTEUR MAGNIFICUS OF LOUVAIN.

The life of Monseigneur Ladeuze, who was born in the Wallon village of Harvéngt, near Mons, on the 3rd of July, 1870, has been bound up with the University for the past forty years. His career was particularly brilliant and successful, for after passing through the University his impressive personality carried him through the various grades of master and doctor of Theology and of the professorial staff, and before he had attained the age of forty years he was nominated Recteur Magnificus of his Alma Mater.

During the thirty years of his office as Recteur there had been moments which had been marked by the seal of tragic grandeur.

One such moment, we ourselves recall, when on the night of the 25th and 26th of August, 1914, the famous library of the University of Louvain was wantonly destroyed by the barbarian German invaders of the brave little country of Belgium. Of this wanton act the Recteur himself was an actual witness, and he set himself the task not only of reconstructing the devastated library, but of providing for the continual development which the progress of science made imperative.

We may be excused for recalling the fact that the first steps in that reconstruction were taken in Manchester, in collaboration with Monseigneur Ladeuze, for in the month of December, 1914, was made the first definite offer of books to replace those destroyed in the fire. Since then we have rejoiced to see the new library rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, on the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

Under the superb driving force of Monseigneur Ladeuze, and the inspiriting encouragement of the beloved Cardinal Mercier, who had so valiantly faced danger and loss whilst wisely guiding his people in the days of their tragic distress, together with the assistance of our American confrères, the University and its library has become one of the best equipped in the world.

Monseigneur Ladeuze's capacity for work was unbounded, and it was not restricted to his duties as Rector of the great University to which he had devoted so much of his life, for he always found time to place his valuable experience at the service of any great scholarly and scientific enterprise, whether national or international, which made its appeal to him.

The Library has sustained another grievous loss through the death of Mr. James Jones, the assistant secretary, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, which occurred on Friday, the 8th of March.

MR. JAMES JONES.

For a number of years Mr. Jones was one of the private secretaries of Mrs. Rylands, and upon the death of that lady, in 1908, he was invited to join the staff of the Library as assistant secretary.

Throughout the thirty-two years that had elapsed since his appointment he had been untiring in his devotion to the interests and service of the institution ; even before he joined its staff he had acted as a sort of liaison officer between Mrs. Rylands and the Library, so that his association with it, in one capacity or another, extended over forty years, and his loss is deeply felt by the Governors and by his colleagues on the staff.

Mr. Jones leaves a widow, one son and one daughter to mourn his loss. To them we offer our deepest sympathy in their sore bereavement.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

The most important happening of the Lent term is unfortunately the saddest, which is referred to more at length elsewhere.

No university ever had a Chancellor with a higher regard for his responsibilities than had Lord Crawford.

This year's elections to the Royal Society are particularly gratifying to Manchester. Four of our own products are amongst the new Fellows: Professor Robertson, engineer, now of Bristol; Professor Cook, engineer, now of Glasgow; Professor Pearsall, botanist, now of Sheffield; and, surely one of the most remarkable elections to the Royal Society, Mr. H. Davenport, who becomes a Fellow whilst he is still an assistant lecturer (that is, holder of the beginner's post in an academic career) in mathematics in Manchester University. Our high repute in mathematical studies is assured into the next generation.

Council has appointed Dr. Wardlaw to succeed Professor Lang in the Barker Chair of Cryptogamic Botany. This is largely a research chair, and it is expected that Dr. Wardlaw, who has been in charge of a Government institution in Trinidad for experiments conducing to the welfare of the plant industries of the West Indies, will bring the knowledge he has acquired of the many problems awaiting investigation by scientific botanists. He succeeds to a very high tradition; but it will be more appropriate to attempt to estimate this when the real maker of it, Professor Lang, has laid down his office.

The conditions of war-time have led Council to suspend the annual Founder's Day celebration and its honorary graduation ceremony. Perhaps the only festivities of the immediate future will be those early next term to mark the opening of the Recreation Centre and of the Dental Hospital, besides, of course, the characteristically Manchester festivity, to be held in April, when the Vice-Chancellor gives his day to welcoming the thousand and odd students who are our W.E.A. extramural associates.

Manchester and Oxford friends of Professor M. K. Pope met in the Women's Union of the University of Manchester, on Wednesday, the 10th of January, to pay tribute to this distinguished scholar as a great woman and a dear friend.

PROFESSOR MILDRED K. POPE.

Professor Pope, who came to the University of Manchester to take the Chair of Romance Philology, retired at the end of last session, after winning distinction as a pioneer of Romance studies in this country, and as a teacher who could make each individual study, however technical, of great interest. To mark her retirement she was presented with a volume, published by the Manchester University Press, entitled "Studies in French Language and Mediæval Literature Presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends."

The meeting was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor (Professor J. S. B. Stopford), who rejoiced to see Oxford and Manchester so happily associated in the tribute they were paying. In Manchester, he said, they regarded Professor Pope's work with appreciation and gratitude, and herself with real affection. We are glad, added Professor Stopford, that Miss Pope remains one of us as Professor-Emeritus.

The formal presentation was made by Miss H. Darbishire, Principal of Somerville College, Oxford, who described the occasion as a conspiracy to break down Professor Pope's inveterate modesty. They were expressing the great admiration they had for her as a scholar, and the affection they felt for her as a woman, by the appropriate gift of a volume in the production of which thirty-five scholars, who at some time had been in touch with her, or who had worked on similar lines, had combined.

Speaking of Professor Pope as a colleague, Miss Darbishire said that perhaps the greatest quality was her single-mindedness. She had the gift of clear dispassionate judgment, and along with that a warm human sympathy. "The sum of these qualities," added Miss Darbishire, "make up, I think, what we call wisdom."

Professor Pope, expressing her thanks for the tributes paid to her, said she regarded the book which had been presented to

her as a great book. " It is," she added, " something so much more than I had envisaged, that it only increases my sense of unworthiness."

ARMED RELIGIOUS ASCETICS IN N. INDIA.

In our issue for July, 1925, was published an article by Professor J. N. Farquhar on " The Fighting Ascetics of India," a subject on which little information was available, and the further elucidation of which would, he believed, contribute much to the understanding of the present-day confusion of sects in Northern India.

Dr. Farquhar went out to India in 1891 as professor in the College of the London Missionary Society in Calcutta, and remained there until 1923, when, to the keen disappointment not only of Dr. Farquhar himself, but also of many of his friends, he was obliged through ill-health to leave India before completing an investigation which had already begun to yield valuable results. Upon his return to England, Dr. Farquhar was appointed Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, a post he filled with great distinction until his death in 1929.

It has been claimed for Dr. Farquhar that he brought about a new orientation of the whole missionary outlook toward the non-Christian systems, and was not alone in realising the implication for missionary methods of the facts which the comparative study of religion has made known, but he translated these implications into action and induced others to join him in the work, with the result that no less significant than Farquhar's own contribution to learning are those which he inspired other scholars to make.

The writer of the article in the present issue on " The Armed Religious Ascetics in Northern India " had the privilege of being associated with Dr. Farquhar on several of his investigations in India, where he was a missionary of the Church of Scotland in Rajputana.

It was a matter of great regret to Dr. Farquhar that he was compelled to leave India before completing an inquiry which had already begun to yield valuable results, and he expressed to

Dr. Orr the hope that he would find it possible to pursue the subject further.

This, we are glad to say, Dr. Orr has been able to do, and in the accompanying article he has given the result of his friendly contact with modern representatives of all the chief fighting ascetic orders, during more than thirty years residence in India, in the course of which he has learned much of their history that is not to be found anywhere in print. Much of the information supplied to Dr. Orr is supported by family papers and other documents in his possession, and every possible effort has been made to verify statements for which written authority cannot be stated.

RICHARD BAXTER AND CHIEF JUSTICE SIR MATTHEW HALE.

Richard Baxter and Sir Matthew Hale first became acquainted at Acton in Middlesex, to which the latter, then Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, came in 1667, and where Baxter had retired in 1663. Baxter records that at first " I came not near him, lest, being a silenced and suspected person (with his superiors), I should draw him also under suspicion, and do him wrong " (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, iii, 47). But Hale showed a desire for his acquaintance and the two soon became intimate, discussing together what they were reading or writing and exchanging mutual criticism ; it is no exaggeration to say that the remainder of Baxter's life at Acton was largely filled with this friendship and he has left us an invaluable account of " the pillar of Justice, the Refuge of the subject who feared Oppression, and one of the greatest Honours of His Majestie's Government " (e.g. *ib*, 47, 176, 181). The reverence and affection with which he always speaks of Hale is reflected in an interesting letter which has been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Fairhurst, and of which a transcript is printed elsewhere in the present issue. Written after the appearance of the *Contemplations Moral and Divine*, some six months before Hale's death (Christmas Day, 1676), and while Baxter himself was engaged on writing his own funeral sermon (he did not die until 1691), it provides an interesting supplement to the many addi-

tions to our knowledge of Baxter made by the late Dr. F. J. Powicke in previous pages of the BULLETIN.

RASHI AND THE ENGISH BIBLE.

The present year marks the 900th anniversary of the birth of the Jewish Rabbi commonly known by his own people as "Rashi," and by Christian exegetes of the Old Testament as "Rabbi Salomon."

In normal times Rashi's anniversary would have been commemorated throughout the world by his co-religionists and he would have been given a place of honour second to none of their old teachers.

In offering this study as a tribute to the memory of this great scholar Dr. Rosenthal has rendered a service to students of the Bible by his enquiry into the influence which Rashi's exegesis has had upon the English Bible, in a manner not hitherto attempted.

The same qualities which have endeared Rashi to his own people and have enabled him to teach generation after generation the beauty and truth in the Bible have also commended him to the English students of the Hebrew Bible, and to the Christian teachers of their nation.

Rashi has not only supplied the translation of many passages but has also furnished a number of notes for the better understanding of obscure passages in the English versions. It is difficult to estimate the service which his interpretations has rendered to the perfection of the English Bible.

In the course of his study Dr. Rosenthal has thrown light upon the competence of the translators and also upon the history of Hebrew scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He enquires who were the instructors of the English Hebraists and by which books they were guided.

A good deal of information has been gleaned from the notes about the ownership of Hebrew manuscripts which have been bequeathed from time to time to the British Museum, the Bodleian, and to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and also from the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

The arguments advanced by Dr. Rosenthal have been enforced by a number of characteristic examples.

The year 1940 has been chosen to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing by movable type.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ART OF TYPOGRAPHY.

The authority for this date is a chapter in "Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen," printed in 1499, by Johann Kœlhof, the younger, who states that he was dependent on Ulrich Zel, the first printer of Cologne, who settled in that city in 1465, for his data.

Unfortunately we cannot point to any piece of printing, or any stage in his invention, which can be definitely assigned to the year 1440.

It is undoubtedly true that Gutenberg was in Strassburg in 1440, but his history has to be built upon a foundation of circumstantial evidence.

It is also true that we cannot point to a single piece of printing and assert that it was printed by Gutenberg, although we may safely say there are several works which in all probability were his workmanship, and that many of the fragments of printing that have been discovered in recent years belong to this experimental stage of his activities.

Gutenberg encountered many difficulties, financial and otherwise, in the prosecution of his labours which completely impoverished him, and at times tempted him in despair to throw up the whole design.

Nearly all the recorded information about Gutenberg has reference either to lawsuits or to loans of money, from which we may conclude that his experiments ran away with a good deal of capital.

At length success smiled upon his efforts, for in 1435 he entered into partnership with certain citizens of Strassburg to work some secret process, which he bound himself to disclose to his partners. Something appears to have gone wrong in 1439, for in that year he appears as defendant in a lawsuit, during which it transpired that the project had reference to some form of printing, since the use of such terms as "formen," "presse," and "trucken" leaves little doubt that it was concerned with that art.

The record of this action affords us our first glimpse of

Gutenberg as printer. There are references to the purchase of lead and other metal, which could be melted down, and a press with two screws holding together four pieces, which a carpenter deposes that as early as 1436 he had been paid by Gutenberg, for work pertaining to printing. That he had made some progress in his experiments is clearly indicated when, in order that nothing of his project should be divulged, he hastily ordered the press to be taken to pieces and the "forms," probably some form of type, to be thrown into the melting pot. There remains, however, no trace of any actual printing which may have been done at this time, unless we can assign some of the fragments to which we have already referred to this period.

It may be said, therefore, that before 1440 Gutenberg was at work at Strassburg and perfecting the art of typography, and that loans which he negotiated in 1441 and 1442 were presumably raised for the further development of his invention.

As we look back from our twentieth-century platform, it may appear to be an easy matter to extend the principle upon which the art depended, but we must not forget that the foundation for all these centuries of improvement was laid by Gutenberg. It is upon the foundation laid by him during his years of patient labour and self-sacrificing experiments that later workers in the same field have built.

What was it that Gutenberg invented? There were presses of a sort before his time, and separate letters had been made for the use of bookbinders, lamp-makers, and other crafts, but these were individually stamped. We have not been able to surprise him in any of his experiments, which must have at times presented difficulties wellnigh insurmountable. Nothing daunted, however, he persevered until he had perfected in turn the punch, the matrix, and the mould, and although many improvements have been made in type-founding since his day, the basic principles are essentially the same as he invented them.

How completely satisfactory was Gutenberg's invention can best be judged by the fact that for four hundred years of ever-growing demands on the printing press his method underwent no technical advance. When mechanical principles were first applied with any success to composition, in the mid-nineteenth

century, they amounted to no more than the provision of keys by which the characters were released from magazines and fell into place, and the justification of the lines had still to be carried out by hand. Many improvements have been devised, but Gutenberg's principle remains.

As soon as risks from air activity have come to an end, we propose to arrange an exhibition to commemorate the quincentenary of the invention of the art of typography.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

Trinity College, Cambridge, will be the first college in Great Britain to establish a studentship for psychical research.

Professor Broad, who is a past president of the Psychical Research Society, is reported to have said that he had already received one or two applications for the studentship, which has been founded from a bequest left to Trinity by a former member, Mr. Frank D. Perrot, as a memorial to Mr. F. W. H. Myers, a founder of the Psychical Research Society, and author of that remarkable book, "Human Personality, and its survival of Bodily Death," published in 1903, two years after his death, by two of his friends.

The studentship is open to anyone who has completed his or her twenty-first year at the time when the election takes place. It will be of such value, not exceeding £300, as the electors may award after considering the nature of the research which the candidate proposes to undertake. The election takes place during the Easter term this year.

A MS. OF LIBELLE OF ENGLYSHE POLYCYE.

The "Libelle of Englyshe Polycye," the earliest known treatise on economic and political geography in English, has come down to us in two forms or editions, the first composed 1436/7 and the second perhaps about a year later. An edition of the work was prepared by Sir George Warner in 1926, nine fifteenth-century copies being drawn on, all that were then known. A further MS. has recently been acquired by the Library. Although somewhat later in date, the Rylands MS. has an interest of its own. It is made up of an

imperfect mid-sixteenth-century copy of the "Libelle," with a text of the second edition, the omissions in which (some 175 lines in all) were supplied later in the same century by two different hands on inserted leaves and pieces of paper. Of the three portions into which it thus falls, the most interesting is that in the earlier of the two repairing hands. This includes the omitted lines 1-43 and 931-951 and the two stanzas of the envoy, and was copied (as was also the third portion) from a MS. of the second edition. But it shows a number of differences from the generally accepted text. The most interesting of these occurs in the second stanza of the envoy, where one of the three members of the Council to whom the work was submitted is named as Archbishop Chichele; in the established text the three are unnamed. Although the Rylands MS. is anonymous, as are the remaining copies, a seventeenth-century hand has noted at the end (f. 27): "Presented to y$^{e}$ L. Archb. Chicheley by John Lidgate, anno domini 1436." The "Libelle" has not previously been associated with Lydgate, and if this statement implies, as presumably it does, that he was the author, it would require much substantiation. Hakluyt, for example, whose edition was printed at a time (1598) roughly contemporary with this ascription, gives no indication that he was acquainted with the author's name, and it is known that he consulted more than one copy of the "Libelle." Selden, who quoted some lines in his "Mare Clausum" (1635), refers to him as "author anonymous." Nor is the "Libelle" included in any of the several lists of Lydgate's works, from that of Bale (1548, 1559) to the Lydgate canon printed in 1911, although two of these were compiled at a time roughly contemporary with that with which we are here concerned, namely, those of Stow (1598) and Pits (1619). In the absence of external support, we are thrown back on the internal evidence of rhyme, metre and style, and this is against Lydgate's authorship. The dedication to Chichele, however, which is given in the second stanza of the envoy, supplied by the earlier of the two repairing hands, is quite possible. This same hand, too, adds on f. 24 seven lines which do not occur in the established text of the "Libelle"; they replace line 993 of Warner's text.

Four other manuscripts of the "Libelle" not examined by Warner are extant. Three of these fall into one or other of the groupings which he has made familiar. The fourth, however (in the British Museum), like that portion of the Rylands manuscript containing the additional lines, stands apart, the two together forming an entirely new grouping of manuscripts of the "Libelle," containing, in addition to the Chichele dedication (found only in the Rylands manuscript; the B.M. copy has no envoy) and the additional lines, alterations so extensive as to suggest a rewriting of the latter part of the work; it is, too, the only grouping of the second edition to which a definite date can be assigned.

The subject will be more fully dealt with by Dr. Frank Taylor in our next issue, where he will give us the results of his investigations.

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# THE BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.[1]

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AT various times in the history of the Christian Church there have arisen communities and brotherhoods whose purpose has been to live and work in the world, yet by common rules and a common discipline to safeguard themselves and others from its contaminations: groups of men and women with some clearly defined social or charitable or intellectual purpose, such as the guarding of pilgrims, the care of the sick and needy, the pursuit of Christian knowledge—or simply prayer. The military orders, the Franciscan tertiaries, the various eleemosynary foundations of the later Middle Ages are obvious, if ill-assorted, examples. In many of them lay or quasi-lay elements played an important part; in and through them the secular borrowed the advantages of the religious without dying to society.

The communities that form our subject now, the Brethren of the Common Life,[2] had an individuality of their own. They

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of February, 1940.

[2] See the bibliography in A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (Michigan, 1924), pp. 480-494. The main original sources for the early period are (1) the letters of Gerard Groote; the main edition is by G. R. Acquoy (Amsterdam, 1857), other letters have been edited by G. Bonet-Maury in *Gérard de Groote, un précurseur de la Réforme* (Paris, 1878); J. Clarisse in *Archief voor kerkgeschichte* (1870), pp. 5-27; H. Nolte in *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift* (1870), pp. 280 f.; W. Preger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung in den Niederlanden*, pp. 29-61; (2) Thomas à Kempis, *Vita Gerardi Magni* and *Vita Florentii* in *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Pohl, 7 vols. (Freiburg, 1902-1921); (3) *Jacobus Traiecti alias de Voecht Narratio de incohatione domus clericorum in Zwollis*, ed. M. Schoengen (Amsterdam, 1908). Important secondary works are E. Barnikol, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Brüder von gemeinsamen Leben,' in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kunst*, Tubingen, 1917 (Ergänzungsheft); W. Moll, *Johannes Brugman en het Godsdienstig leven onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1854); M. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* (1917); Hyma, *op. cit.*, and *The Youth of Erasmus* (Michigan, 1930).

were not immediately blessed or welcomed by the Church ; they were essentially products of the medieval municipality, and the small municipality at that, where life flowed more peacefully than in the greater industrial towns. They were a northern movement, linked to the piety and the art of the Low Countries, the home of grave and sober men ; and, more successfully than other groups of devout people, they blended strict discipline and subordination of self to the community with an exceptional degree of spiritual freedom and inward happiness.

On a previous occasion I spoke of the devotion of the young Thomas à Kempis to Florence Radewijns, the friend and disciple of Gerard Groote.[1] Thomas never forgot the impression made upon him by that remarkable man in the home of the society from which he drew much of his inspiration. The home was Deventer, the Flemish town of dark-stained wooden roofs set in the valley of the Yssel, which, as Hyma has observed, always remained the geographical centre of the Movement known as the *Devotio Moderna*.[2] The *Devotio* had, as it were, two wings : the Brethren of the Common Life themselves, and the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim (to which Thomas à Kempis at Agnetenberg belonged). The whole unquestionably originated in the life and work of Gerard Groote (1340-1384), and it came to an end in the sixteenth century under the pressure of the Reformation.

John Vos of Heusden, a leader of the *Devotio*, said when he was dying in 1424, ' Groote was the first father of our reformation, the source and origin of the *Devotio Moderna*. He was an apostle in his country, who kindled the fires of religious fervour in the cold hearts of men and drew them to God.' [3] In a letter to Urban VI William de Sarvavilla, chanter of the University of Paris, described Groote shortly after his death, when his enemies had got the Bishop of Utrecht to forbid deacons preaching in public, a sentence which had involved Groote : ' Truly he was the Great, for in his knowledge of all the liberal sciences, both natural and moral, of civil law, canon law and theology he was second to none in the world, and all these branches of learning

[1] *Ante*, vol. xxii, no. 2 (Oct., 1938), p. 508.

[2] *The Christian Renaissance*, p. 3.

[3] In Hyma, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

were united in him. He was a man of such saintliness and gave so good an example of mortification of the flesh, of contempt for the world, brotherly love for all, zeal for the salvation of souls, effectual preaching, reprobation and hatred of wickedness, withstanding of heretics, enforcement of canon law against those that broke the vow of charity, conversion to the spiritual life of divers men and women who had formerly lived according to the world, and of loyalty to our Lord Urban VI—in all those things, I say, he gave so good an example that many thousands of men testify to the belief they hold that he was not less great in these virtues than he was in the aforesaid sciences.' [1]

William was writing to uphold Groote against detractors, and his praise, for all its warmth, has a conventional sound. It scarcely conveys the secret of Groote's appeal, the intimacy with which he could speak to every heart. Groote never became a priest—his humility forbade. He was probably the greatest popular preacher that has ever appeared in the Low Countries ; and ' popular ' does not imply sentimental or anecdotal sermonising, but the capacity for speaking directly to each individual in his congregations. In the Carthusian monastery of Monnikhuizen (where he had been undergoing a novitiate) they saw it plain, and no one can read the account of him written by Thomas à Kempis, the *Vita Gerardi Magni*, without recognising that the apostolate that Groote undertook in 1379 was a matter of general expectation. He was discharged from the house to preach and convert, not because he found it hard to live the religious life. The successful master of Paris and Prague, with his taste for science (he had studied astrology and magic) and his prospects of preferment (he already had two prebends), left the world to return to it in a new missionary guise.

Such a man inevitably draws friends. His were the younger clergy, like Radewijns, vicar of St. Paul's altar in the Church of St. Lebwin, Deventer, or younger teachers like John Cele of Zwolle. And the theology they must have talked was not that of the schools, nor can it have been in line with the difficult, sometimes almost pantheistic speculation of Groote's friend John

[1] In Hyma, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

Ruysbroek, but must have centred in the cult of the inner life which we find in people like the Strasbourg mystics of the fourteenth century,[1] later to achieve expression in the writings of the Congregation of Windesheim: a language poetical, but never recondite; drawing plentifully on St. Bernard, and Hugh and Richard of St. Victor; full of echoes of these great masters of Christian prose, unoriginal but compelling. Some of the circle lived in Groote's own house; and to it were invited from time to time schoolboys and copyists. The copyists were an important element in the circle. In a recent study of manuscript and text-book reproduction at the medieval Universities, M. Destrez has explained the system of dictation and supervision that made possible the reproduction of lecture-notes and sermons on a considerable scale before printing (possibly more expensive in its earlier stages) took its place.[2] The workshops or studios of the copyists were places to which the young clerk might go to support himself after his schooldays, before he secured a benefice or to supplement his small earnings elsewhere. Some of these copyists lived in Florence Radewijns's vicarage, and the story of how they formed a little community is well known, but can be re-told. One day Radewijns approached Groote: 'Master, what harm should there be in our uniting our weekly earnings and living the common life?' 'Unite your funds?' replied Groote. 'Surely impossible, for the mendicants would attack us for attempting to found a new religious order.'[3] Groote's answer is easily understood. Already he had composed a constitution for a sisterhood which had united funds in the effort to live the common life. This was in 1379, and in that constitution he had expressly stated that he was not proposing to found a new order, but simply to provide facilities for pious women to live the devotional life.

The early sister-house, known as the House of Master Gerard (since he originally owned it), was not a nunnery. There were no vows, and any woman could leave, if she so desired. It

[1] Cf. E. Vansteenberghe, 'Le mouvement mystique à Strasbourg au XIVe Siècle' (*Bull. Soc. des amis de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 1927).

[2] *La Pecia* (Paris, 1936).

[3] J. Busch, *Chronicon Windesheimense*, ed. K. Grube, *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete*, xix (1886), 254.

was simply a hostel with two matrons who bought the supplies and saw that the daily tasks—dairying, sewing, knitting, weaving, spinning, and so on—were performed. This was evidently the model that Radewijns and his young friends had in mind. Groote felt that if there was to be a community for men, it had better be a convent built for the purpose and an Augustinian one. A group living together under no vows would run the risk of ridicule, and even of scandal. The project for a convent materialised at Windesheim : but Groote did not live to see the other, the truly characteristic type of brother-house, for though he provided the inspiration, and suggested, by his instructions to the sisters, the model, the actual foundation of the first community was due to Radewijns. Rudolf Dier de Muiden states that it was Radewijns who acted as treasurer for those who lived with him, and ' seeing that they were fully converted to the Lord, and could easily be brought to make the change, and were ready for it (*tam tractabiles et flexibiles*), he amalgamated their resources and made one common stock out of the several sums ; and so thereafter they began to live in common.'[1] Until 1391 the group lived at Radewijns's vicarage. In that year the ' house of Florence ' was built in the Enghe Strat.

The other original house of the Brethren was Zwolle,[2] where Groote's disciple Henry Foppens of Gouda bought a house to lodge poor schoolboys, and in the adjoining tenement two laymen built a house for the first little nucleus of Brothers. The great attraction of Zwolle in the early years of the fifteenth century was the teaching of John Cele, rector of the City School, who, as Hyma states, succeeded in collecting as many as 1200 boys at a time from districts far removed from the Yssel Valley.[3] In Zwolle, therefore, the Brethren, after acquiring a new house in 1396, had a large field in which to work. The first colonies of Deventer were Amersfoort and Delft. At the latter the magistrates heard of the work of the Brethren at Deventer, and

[1] ' Scriptum de magistro Gherardo Grote, domino Florencio et multis aliis devotis fratribus,' in G. Dumbar, *Analecta Daventria*, i, 13.

[2] For the school here cf. M. Schoengen, ' Die Schule von Zwolle von ihren Anfängen bis zur Einführung der Reformation (1582),' 1 Teil, *Von den Anfängen bis zu dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Freiburg, 1898), 63 f.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

being anxious to secure a similar society of copyists, asked the mother-town to send them a group of Brethren (1403). Zwolle's colonies were Albergen in Eastern Over-Yssel (1406); then Hulsbergen near Hattem (1407), and in 1424 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1425 the Brethren at Zwolle had to leave their house on account of an interdict, and moved to Doesburg, where a new community was established in 1426. Zwolle also founded the house at Groningen, the home of Wessel Gansfort, while Delft founded Gouda (1445) and Utrecht (1474). The colony of 's-Hertogenbosch was Nijmegen (1469). In Germany there were many houses; the earliest was Münster (Westfalen) in 1400. The house at Cologne dated from 1417, and from Cologne various houses were founded in the Rhineland. In the Southern Low Countries the movement spread to Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, Cambrai, Liège and Louvain.

It was between 1395 and 1403 that the main characteristic of these communities made its appearance in the building of the *Domus pauperum* at Deventer. This was simply a hostel for the poorer pupils attending the cathedral school. Such was the origin of the dormitory system established in various places (especially at Zwolle). Later, at Deventer itself, Cardinal Nicolas of Cues established the *Bursa Cusana* for this purpose. It should be emphasised that in the earliest stages of the movement the brothers were not schoolmasters first and foremost, but what we should call 'home missioners.' Later, when the Brethren themselves taught—and some were distinguished teachers—religious and moral instruction was always prominent.[1] The early organisation was a nucleus of some twelve to twenty persons, priests, clerics, and a few laymen, living and working together in a single house, and attached to it or adjoining it, sometimes in the same building, a small youth hostel for young people attending the schools the town.

The purpose of the Brethren is expressed in a document originally identified by Schoengen as the constitution of Zwolle, but since shown to be a statement of the routine and methods

[1] Cf. the remarks on their activities by G. R. Potter, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, viii, esp. pp. 711-712.

followed at the Florence House at Deventer.[1] It may, in point of fact, be taken to represent both places. 'Our house,' it says, 'was founded and endowed with its small rents and goods in order that, after the manner of the primitive Church, devout priests and clerks with a few poor laymen might live there in common from the labour of their hands, that is the work of writing (*opus scripture*), and from the returns from certain estates: attend Church with devotion, obey the prelates, wear simple clothing, preserve the canons and decrees of the saints, practise religious exercises and lead not only irreproachable, but exemplary lives, in order that they may serve God and perchance induce others to seek such salvation.' The way to this was through self-examination, humility and all spiritual exercises—prayer, meditation, reading, manual labour, watching, fasting. Meditation was to be not only 'on such subjects as induce men to fear the Lord, such as sin, death, judgment and hell'; but, 'lest continued fear might engender dejection and despair,' more hopeful topics were to be pondered, 'such as the kingdom of heaven, the blessings of God, the life of Jesus Christ and his passion.' Sombre and happier subjects were to alternate throughout the days of the week, but 'at festival times we conform to the practices of the Catholic Church, forming our meditation and exercises from the matter of the feast.'[2]

The Brethren rose between three and four in the morning for Matins, 'in an alert and lively manner, shaking off sleep from our eyes,' according to the text of Jeremiah: 'Rise, give praise in the night at the beginning of the watch, pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord, lift up thy hands to him.' And while prayer is being offered no one is to spit or cough or yawn; nor is he to turn over and flutter the leaves of his service book, especially in the Lord's Prayer or in the Creed. A period was set aside for the reading of Holy Scripture, after the hours had been said; in this time 'we shall avoid useless discussions and obstructive business . . .' At daily mass 'we do not stand or sit facing the people before the service begins, but go to places in the choir that are free from all distraction.'[3]

[1] MS. 73, G. 22 of the Royal Library at the Hague. Printed Hyma, Appendix C, pp. 440 f. [2] Hyma, pp. 442-443. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

Manual labour was enjoined daily. 'Human frailty does not admit of men being continuously occupied in mental exercises,' and 'the work of our hands makes us free, lest it be necessary to gape after the contributions of others.' Chief among manual work is the *opus scripture* or copying. On week days the three hours before lunch (8 to 11 A.M.) were given up by ordinary clerks to manual work, but priests did it for two hours only (8 to 10 A.M.). After lunch manual work was continued from 12 noon to 3 P.M. Vespers were then said, and tasks resumed at 4 P.M. 'On fast days we work till eleven and after lunch begin at 1 P.M.' Work was to be done in silence that might be broken by ejaculatory prayer. The celebrated Block Book, *Historia seu providentia Virginis Mariae ex Cantico Canticorum* (c. 1465), belonging to the John Rylands Library, shows in one of its illustrations a picture of a group of agriculturalists wearing the habit, cutting and threshing grain, pounding it in a mortar, and grinding it in a hand-mill. In the background is a little oratory with two books open on a desk. Dr. Guppy has suggested that in this combination of agricultural work with study 'may be seen an illustration of the daily work of the Brethren of the Common Life, to whom have been attributed the engraving and printing of the book,' though, naturally enough, 'their connexion with the book cannot be definitely established.' [1]

Cooking and sewing was done by novices and juniors, who were instructed specially to look to the water supply, and in winter prevent the drinking water from getting frozen—*ne canale sine aqua inveniatur*. 'At table we must sit in silence, avoiding all noise, so that we may the more quietly and attentively hear Holy Scripture read there. And we must restrain our eyes, and not look about to see what is going on at table, unless it is some one's duty so to do. And we must not be dainty (*exquisiti*) or particular about the amount of food or drink served to us or the way of serving it. In drinking we hold the bowl or cup with both hands; and we do not fold up our table cloths until the

[1] *The Beginnings of Printed Book Illustration* (Catalogue of an Exhibition of Printed Book Illustrations in the Fifteenth Century, Manchester, 1933), p. 60. These tasks of manual work and study were enjoined by St. Benedict, and the books may represent nothing more than the reading prescribed by the rule: but the Netherlands origin of the Block Book is plain.

rector folds his.'[1] After lunch during the summer months a short nap was allowed, and the Brothers were woken by the reader at table when he had finished his own lunch. The reader held office weekly. He was permitted ' to take some food before the brethren enter the refectory, as well as to quench his thirst before he reads.'[2]

After supper (about 6 P.M.) each man went to his room and did then what he liked, either pumicing books or drawing the lines on the quires, or studying or speaking with some one for the edification of his soul, until eight o'clock. At this time strangers had to leave, and the doors were shut. Henceforth silence had to be maintained until the morning. From 8 to 8.30 the Brethren prayed or meditated, and then went to bed. During this half-hour the practice of having evening addresses (*collationes*) became general. On week days these were for the house alone ; but on Sundays and holy days the Brethren gave addresses to which outsiders and the laity might come, and these seem to have taken place in the 6 to 8 period. From such a practice the Brethren got their name of ' Collacie Broeders,' the ' Sermon Brethren ' under which certain groups of them were later known as printers. During these evening hours on ordinary days the Brethren were allowed to talk to people in their own private rooms, provided that no such conversation lasted longer than half an hour.[3]

As the communities grew, the offices of rector, procurator, librarian, *vestiarius* or tailor, steward of the guests, and porter were defined. The rector is more like an elder brother than the head of a convent. Though he is *paterfamilias*, he has no authority of jurisdiction (*nulla jurisdictionalis auctoritas*) over the Brethren ; yet he is allowed and obeyed in the interests of order and peace. His work is mainly administrative and presidential, and he acts as chairman of a financial committee to manage the affairs of the house, on which sits the procurator, the bursar of the community. The procurator receives the income of the house, donations, and the property of the individual brothers contributed to the common stock. He is not to be monopolised



[1] The phrase is ' mensalia convolvere.'

[2] Hyma, pp. 444-446.

[3] Pp. 447-448.

or distracted in his religious life by his work. The rules instruct him not to go running here and there in pursuit of his office, but to do his bursarial work in between his spiritual duties.[1]

The chapters on the *opus scripture* and on the librarian are of considerable interest. Unhappily the manuscript is illegible in places, and the lacunæ are not always easy to fill. 'Let one of the brothers be responsible for the writing and preparation of books and the custody of the parchment, so that all the brothers shall have enough to write upon and correct examples from which to copy. And, if it be possible, let him procure Latin texts for all.[2] And let him not say no too readily to any man who asks that a good book be written for him, although at the moment there may be no one free to write it, but let him ask the client to wait just for a little. When some one asks for a book to be written for him, for which he (the brother in charge) has a writer ready, let him show the inquirer the hand of the writer and make an agreement with him quire by quire: but in the case of the more notable books let him not make an agreement with any man except by counsel of the rector. Let him make the contracts clearly, and, if need be, in writing, that it may not be necessary to dispute the sum. And where payment in ready money is not made along with the order, let him not hand over the book before payment has been made or reasonable security to pay has been given, especially with a new customer.'

The Brother in charge of the writing-room has also to see that the ink is properly brewed 'and is good for our writers'; and he has to give notice when the evening sermon is preached on feast days, 'that on the second day of each solar month, if it is a week day, each brother with his companion allotted to him correct, and write in the corrections, before any further writing is proceeded with.'[3]

It is the task of the librarian (*Armarius*)[4] to look after all non-service books and to see that they are properly labelled; and to watch for fading in the text or holes appearing in the parchment (*ne quid exesum*). He is to remind people who have books out that they must return them at a specified time, and to

[1] Pp. 450-452. [2] P. 454. [3] P. 454.
[4] More strictly, 'keeper of the book-cupboards.'

send a messenger to the offender, if they are not brought back. 'And he must let no book go out of the town without the knowledge of the rector, but no brother must presume to let any book leave the house, without the knowledge of the librarian.' He must look after the physical condition of the books, and not let them get dusty or dirty. The librarian must point out the passage for the lesson to the lector who reads at table. Once a year he must make an inventory of all books in the house.[1]

There are many other clauses of note in this very practical set of rules. They give a picture of a methodical and frugal little community. One dealing with the guest-master is worth excerpting. The guest-master is always to provide guests with a book, from which they can read for the good of their souls, 'to provide occasion and matter for speaking about God and the edifying and salvation of the soul, which book he must always place upon the table before he places before them the first dish.' He has to wash the feet of guests, or (more mercifully) 'have them washed, when they come on foot from a distance, especially if they are religious and devout; or at least bring them hot water that they may wash them.' The house has to be visited once a year by two priests who are rectors of congregations, 'and on whose part we presume special fidelity to our house and estate.'[2]

There was only one promise made by novices when being accepted as Brothers: the promise of continence. This is 'the good custom kept in this house from the beginning.' Without it no one could be received into the *fraternitas*.[3] There was no actual vow of poverty, but it was a clear understanding that all possessions must be surrendered to the common chest. *Sit communis bursa, sit communis archa, sit mensa et provisio communis, nisi quod provideatur unicuique, prout cuique opus existit.* 'Moreover, we ought to take care that we should not become too much attached to the things which we are allowed to use; but so shall we strive to restrain our affection from love of our household possessions (*rei familiaris*) that if anyone is sent by the rector to change his room, he shall do so at once, bearing away nothing

[1] Pp. 454-455. [2] P. 459. [3] P. 463.

with him, except what the rector assigns.'[1] Even within the house the habit of *meum* and *tuum* was to be avoided.

After John Cele, the two greatest teachers associated with the movement, Hegius and Wessel Gansfort, were neither of them Brethren in the full sense of the word, but had spent years in the dormitories maintained by the Brethren, and were in harmony with moral and religious ideas of the *Devotio Moderna*. To compare them, Hegius was the humanist, Wessel Gansfort the moral philosopher. Wessel is a sort of John of Salisbury in the fifteenth century: an itinerant scholar, but, unlike John, refusing preferment at the end, and, again unlike John, caustic and extreme, often shocking his listeners with paradox and violent opinion, 'the master of contradictions' (as they called him in Paris). Both had a full measure of wit, but Wessel little of John's polish and moderation.

Wessel was born at Groningen in 1419 or 1420, and his body now rests there in St. Martin's Church. He appears to have gone to Zwolle in 1432, and to have remained seventeen years in the *Parva domus* or dormitory erected by the Brethren for boys attending the City School. It was during this time that he made the acquaintance of Thomas à Kempis at Agnetenberg, three miles away. Wessel became a teacher and gave lectures in the dormitory from 1440-1449. This instruction was probably of a religious kind. In 1449 he matriculated at Cologne, and took his Master's degree in 1452. In 1453 he was at Louvain, the following two years at Paris. To Paris he returned for eleven years in 1458, a very important time for him, since it was there that he became friendly with Occamist teachers of the generation after Gerson and D'Ailly, and with theologians had listened to those great masters. Paris was no less distinguished, with masters like Marsilius of Inghen and Albert of Saxony teaching there, than in the classic period of the great Conciliars. In earlier days Gerson and D'Ailly had supported the Brethren, and had revered Hugh of St. Victor, a sort of patron theologian of the Windesheim congregation.

Then, after eleven years of medieval philosophy at Paris,

[1] Pp. 467-468.

Wessel went to Rome, and we hear of him there disputing about indulgences with two other graduates of the University of Paris, and being advised to keep his views to himself. In Rome he made friends with Francesco della Rovere, afterwards Sixtus IV, and with Bessarion. In 1470 he returned to Paris, where he met the German humanist, John Reuchlin, who, as Melancthon tells us, greatly liked and respected him. Melancthon has a story that in 1473 Wessel was expelled from Paris for having attacked the superstitious views of certain dignitaries in the Church. Whatever may be the truth of this, there is no doubt that at Paris Wessel was a great success. One scholar said of him that he was either a second Alan of Lille or an angel or something that he would not name. His outspoken views on the hierarchy and the administrators of the Church made him many enemies. Characteristically Wessel never asked for any honours or dignities, and preferred to remain a teacher to the end. His biographer, Dr. Van Rhijn, is inclined to believe the story that Sixtus IV, after being lectured and exhorted by Wessel to see that his reputation should correspond with his name, told him to ask something for himself. "Well then," said Wessel, "I beg you to give me a Greek and a Hebrew bible from the Vatican Library." "These shall be given to you," said Sixtus; "but, you foolish man, why do you not ask for a bishopric or something similar?" "Because I do not need it," Wessel replied.[1]

On his way from Rome he visited Florence, where the Platonic academy of Lorenzo and Ficino was flourishing. It does not appear to have impressed him much. He expressed his views about universities and academies in his treatise on the Sacrament of Penance. Drawing a contrast between wisdom and knowledge, he says: "There is a knowledge that may be useless and vain: such is all knowledge that follows truth out of curiosity. . . . There is a strong and weighty argument against universities to be drawn from the fact that Paul secured but little fruit at Athens, accomplishing more in the neighbouring city of Corinth and in Thessaly, which was then almost barbarous, than in the Attic city, at that time the fountain of Greek philosophy.

[1] *Wessel Gansfort* (1917), pp. 104-105.

It goes to show that liberal studies are not very pleasing to God." Wessel, who knew many humanists, remained at heart a man of earlier ideals. It was natural, therefore, that he should gravitate back to the humble men of piety, to spend the rest of his life at Zwolle, Agnetenberg, and in the end Groningen.

Wessel was a great and stimulating teacher. He has been called by Hyma a mystic, but unless we use the term mysticism very loosely, there is little in his work that answers to that description. His writing is the work of a devotional spirit, who had read many truly mystical writers, and sometimes indeed borrows their terminology, but never goes outside himself or becomes rapt in the ecstasy of communion with God or receives illumination or revelation denied to others. His theory of knowledge is genuinely Augustinian, and might have been found in St. Bonaventura :

> Therefore what Aristotle calls the active intellect, I call the light of God's countenance. What he says concerning conscience and reason pleading the best things I ascribe, not to any power of the soul or to the natural state of the soul, but rather to the breath of life breathed into man by divine power, and to divine assistance not only for the will but also for the intelligence.[1]

Of Wessel Luther remarked, " If I had read his works earlier, my enemies might think that Luther had absorbed everything from Wessel, his spirit is so in accord with mine." This is no proof of any ' protestantism ' in Wessel ; critics of the hierarchy, of indulgences and, in general, of the rather overweighted spiritual machinery of the medieval Church in the fifteenth century were not uncommon in the Low Countries, as Ullmann showed long ago, and Wessel is in harmony with a man like John Pupper of Goch, who contrasted the legalism or Judaising tendency in the Church with the freedom of the gospel.[2] It was the advanced,

[1] ' On the Sure and Benign Providence of God,' in *Wessel Gansfort, Life and Writings*, ed. Miller and Scudder, ii, 90. On the theory of illumination, cf. E. Gilson, *La Philosophie de St. Bonaventure*, ch. xii, pp. 326-387.

[2] The will, John held, may exist in a two-fold state : the state of terror under the law, which the Apostle calls the spirit of bondage wherein works of righteousness are done from fear of punishment ; and the state of love under the Gospel, which he calls the Spirit of Adoption, cf. *De Libertate Christiana*, ed. Cramer and Pijper (Bibl. Reformatoria Neerlandica, 1918).

we might almost say the 'modernist,' position in the contemporary Church, that Wessel was adopting. As for Luther's statement, only one question need be asked. If Luther's spirit had been genuinely in harmony with Wessel's, would the course of history have been the same?

This is not to deny that Wessel had convictions which must have been disturbing to orthodox breasts. 'The Church's mediation of divine grace, a cardinal doctrine, had very little prominence in Wessel's thought. He conceived of the Christian's relations with God in the personal terms in which they are always being presented in the New Testament, and constantly refers to our Lord's dealings with his disciples and others as illustrating his relations with us.'[1] He was at one with the Brothers in the emphasis he placed on love as the main precept of the Christian life. We must love our Elder Brother and be brought back by him to the Father of Love: by the Elder Brother Christ is meant; and this love involves love of our neighbour. Wessel affirms that we cannot love Christ except we love those whom he loves.

Dr. Miller has observed that the breadth of Wessel's religious sympathy is one of the striking things in his character: and he very rightly draws attention to Wessel's treatise on the Communion of Saints. One of the headings in the treatise makes its character clear: 'Concerning the true Communion of Saints from which none can exclude another; in which none but God alone can make one share; and in which every man is retained, however much he may have been excluded.'

All men, from the beginning of the rational soul that is breathed into them even until death, are wayfarers, and all those share in the one, common supply of the light that shineth in the darkness. But certain of the wayfarers hate this light that shineth in the darkness, close their ears in order not to hear the words of the Law, and corrupt their ways in order not to keep the Law. And for this reason, there is another and more brotherly fellowship among the wayfarers that walk in the ways of the Lord and hear what divine Wisdom speaks among them: for it speaks peace among them. And those who "not having the Law, do by nature the things of the Law, these are a law unto themselves, showing the work of the Law written in their hearts." All these have the right to become and to be the children of God. Hence their communion consists of a fraternal relation to

[1] *Life and Writings*, i, 126.

each other in God. And none can exclude a man from this communion or make him share in it but God alone.[1]

The reference to excommunication is clear. Again

It is not then the charters of the brotherhoods that make their members share in watchings and fastings, in discipline and in prayers ; but it is the union of brotherly love. . . . Every man shares in the watchings and fastings, the observances and prayers of all religious orders, if he greatly desires blessings for them, even if no prior or chapter has given him papers for this. Nay, more, if he desires such blessings for them with more fervent longing than they themselves, he himself will share in them more than they that engage in them.[2]

Then follows a sharp criticism of colleges and fraternities, who have the right to allow their members a share in the prayers of the body. None who has ' touched upon the matter of brotherhoods and the distribution of the treasure of a monastic college among outsiders and benefactors, has seriously studied the question : How far the prior of a house has the right to allow a benefactor to share in this treasure ; whether it should be proportioned to the piety of the benefactor, or the favour of the ruling prior ? ' [3]

Prelates and ecclesiastical superiors, argues Gansfort, ' as they possess no arbitrary power over the effect of the sacraments, so they have even less over the merits of piety.'

The prelacy can bestow no higher blessing than that for which it is established. And it was established in order to secure a peaceful and inoffensive life for the servants of God with one another, in so far as the foresight and care of human frailty, aided by God, can secure it. But a prelate has no power to make a man more and more pleasing to God, nor does his authority extend as far as this. Under the guise of piety, through wills, they lay claim to fields and houses. Thus, through the words of the saintly rector, and through their own benedictions, they obtain disgraceful gain.[4]

Other propositions of Gansfort's may be quoted :

' the ruler of a monastery is neither master nor judge nor depository nor dispenser of either the collective or individual merits of its members.' [5]

[1] *Life and Writings*, ii, 253-254. The parallel with Cusanus' earlier definition of the Universal Church as a *fraternitas* (*De Concordantia Catholica*) will be obvious.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

The possessions, the shares, the inheritances, the rights of the citizens of Jerusalem are not like those of the Egyptians and Chaldeans in that one man possesses more as another possesses less.

Sharing with others in that heavenly Jerusalem which is built as a city, is peculiar in this, that it does not involve loss to any possessor.

We may, perhaps, wonder at the emphasis placed on the more technical, may I say, professional aspects of the Communion of Saints : until we recall the fact that this is the fifteenth century and that more than in any previous age people were concerned with the official mechanism of intercession. The almost universal custom of founding chantries, the multiplication of fraternities, the emphasis laid by artists on the perils of the soul and the saving help of the saints all testify to the relevance of Wessel's strictures about the perils of externality in religion and of his desire, in his own splendid phrase, ' to bring that participation (in a brotherhood) back to the merits of the participant and refer the distribution to God who knows and accepts him.' [1]

As time went on, the independence of the Brethren suffered not exactly a change, but that modification and adaptation to contemporary institutions and currents of opinion which every religious group and order has to undergo when the pioneers are dead. As with the Franciscans, even in the earliest stages of the Common Life the Brethren had to meet the criticism and pressure of the religious orders, and the ultimate similarity of their aim was bound in time to react upon their methods, particularly in the religious and moral bent which they gave to their educational activities. To what extent were these to be reconciled with a free and critical humanism ? In this connexion 's-Hertogenbosch is particularly interesting, since Erasmus wrote two accounts of his experiences with the Brothers there. The first is in his *Compendium Vitae* or his autobiography ; the second is in a letter to Grunnius. Neither of these are at all favourable. They relate how, on the death of his father, he was sent, when he was already ripe for a University, to 's-Hertogenbosch : the guardians were afraid of a University, because they had decided to bring him up to religion. " Then he lived, that is to say he lost, nearly three years at the brothers' house, as they call it, in which

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

Rombold then taught. This class of teachers is now widely spread through the world, a destruction of good intellects and seminaries of monasticism. Rombold, who was much pleased with the capacity of the boy, began to solicit him to become one of his flock; the boy excused himself on the score of youth. A plague having arisen in the place, after he had suffered some time with a quartan fever, he returned to his guardians ; having by this time acquired a sufficiently fluent style out of some good authors." In the letter to Grunnius he speaks of his ' being put out of the way into a company of *Fratres Collationarii*, who, having vested themselves everywhere, make a regular business of hunting up boys to be trained. Their chief care, should they see any youth of unusually high spirit and quick disposition (of which nature are almost all very fertile minds), is to break his spirit and humble him by blows, threats, scoldings and other devices, which they call " breaking in," and thus to fit him for the monastic life. For this work they are much esteemed by the Dominicans and Franciscans ; for these latter admit that their orders would very soon perish, did not some such seminary as the above feed them. . . . True, I think, they have among them some not ill-disposed men ; but since they suffer from a lack of the best authors and live in their own obscurity, spending their lives in the observance of rites and ceremonies, . . . I do not see how it is possible for them thoroughly to instruct youth.' [1] The letter to Grunnius is not altogether above suspicion ; but in Erasmus the dialogue between Leo and Ursus *On the correct pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Ursus gives his experiences with the Brothers of the Common Life. He says :

I was educated by these brethren at Deventer, when I had not yet finished my fifteenth year. The procurator of their house tried everything to induce me to join the order. And I was a boy inclined towards piety. When this excellent man noticed that his work availed nothing, he tried exorcism. ' What did he do, pray ? ' asked Leo. ' He took down a Crucifix and entreated me, as I was crying,' ' Don't you know,' he said, ' what has been suffered for you ? ' ' I don't know,' I replied. ' I testify that through this,' he continued, ' you will not do something to render this death in vain, but you will follow my counsel lest you die eternal death with the world.' [2]

[1] Quoted by Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*, p. 129.
[2] Quoted by Hyma, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

A passage that might have come out of a novel by Father R. H. Benson.

Now between 1418 and 1484, when Erasmus, with his brother, left Deventer, there is a great difference. In the early days Radewijns and his successors, particularly Gerard Zerbolt, had to face persecution from the mendicants, whom Erasmus, writing in 1510, actually links with the Brethren; and in those early days there was, as I suggested, little direct education by the Brothers themselves, and certainly no forcing of pupils towards monasticism. The brethren-house of St. Gregory at 's-Hertogenbosch had been founded in 1424 or 1425 by the Brethren at Zwolle. Like Zwolle it supported separate dormitories for three classes of pupil, poor, of moderate means, and wealthy—the three buildings of the Arme Fraterhuis, the Mediocris Huis and the Rijke Fraterhuis, and the boys wore a uniform. 'S-Hertogenbosch was, perhaps, the first real school established by the Brothers, where at the end of the fifteenth century Latin and Greek were taught. It had a printing press, like Gouda: but before 1500 none of its leaders had made much of a reputation. As Hyma observes, it is very doubtful whether they had progressed as far on the road towards pure humanism as had Hegius at Deventer. And if we look at the inventory of the books, made when the survivors were finally sold in 1887, the forty-seven items appear to be more perfectly orthodox works of medieval philosophy. But perhaps the real secret of Erasmus' dislike can be seen in a more obvious contrast between the brothers of Zwolle and 's-Hertogenbosch. At Zwolle the tradition was to stand somewhat aloof and criticise the clergy: at 's-Hertogenbosch, just as at Gouda, the Brothers definitely co-operated with them; they had a contract for masses at the Church of St. John. The atmosphere was clerical and orthodox.

How, then, did the *rapprochement* between the Brethren and the regulars begin? If Deventer is any guide, the approach may have come from the religious orders themselves. In 1460 the great Netherland preacher, John Brugman, preached a sermon in the brother-house at Deventer, taking as his text, " Suffer the children to come to me and forbid them not, for of such is the

kingdom of heaven." After alluding to Gerson's *De parvulis ad Christum trahendis*, he referred to Gerard Groote, who had tried to reform the immoral clergy in the Netherlands, and afterwards concentrated on training boys who might become reformers in turn.

> I like no order more than yours, except my own, namely the Franciscan order, and if there were no Franciscans, I would fall on my knees before you and beg for a place in your house. . . . I wish I had spent the time which I devoted to study in Paris at Deventer instead, for here knowledge and manners and virtues are taught which are more valuable than pure learning.

Then, addressing the pupils, he said :

> I expect you to listen attentively to your teachers in order that you may remember their precepts. But I also admonish you children always to keep God before your eyes in your studies, so that it may be your intention, when your studies have been completed, to serve God, according to the counsel of the brethren of the Heer Florens-Huis, who know which monasteries are good and which are bad.

Even if we take Erasmus with a grain of salt, these passages which I have quoted show that it is questionable whether the movement of the Brethren belongs directly to what has been termed, perhaps rather ambiguously, 'the Christian Renaissance.' Without wishing to be unduly narrow in defining terms, one is tempted to ask what can be meant by the expression, except the application of the standards and canons of Renaissance art and scholarship to Christian study and worship, e.g. the criticism and printing of the Greek New Testament. Only in the work of a teacher like Hegius, first at Emmerich and later at the school attached to St. Lebwin's at Deventer, can we speak of the movement of the Brethren assimilating the new scholarship. (While teaching at Emmerich, Hegius had learned Greek from Agricola ; but he never mastered it as well as some of his contemporaries. He belongs to the earlier or Latin stage of the Renaissance, and, generally speaking, the movement was true in spirit and ideals to early, rather than to later, humanism.) If, on the other hand, Renaissance means re-birth generally, and does not bear the exclusive connotation of scholarship, if it is religious revival that is intended, then we may fully admit that the

Brethren definitely come within this category, and rank high among the reforming pietists of the fifteenth century.

Before ending, let us return to the more permanent and tangible legacies of the Brethren : their books.

To attempt to identify the work of the copyists would be a long and delicate task. In the John Rylands Library there are interesting possibilities. Latin MSS. No. 100, Augustinian Nuns' Offices which, Dr. James suggested,[1] may have come from the neighbourhood of Echternach in Luxemburg, is worth close examination in this connexion, as is the late fifteenth-century Horae, obviously of Flemish *provenance* (Latin MSS. No. 161).[2] Another elaborate book of Hours which has the Prayers of St. Gregory (No. 163) [3] will obviously come into comparison, but of these two and of all manuscripts which can be called ' illuminated,' one thing must be said : the scriptor and the *pictor* or *illuminator* are usually quite different people, and their separate functions continue into the period of printing. The early press very frequently omits the initial capitals, which are left to the limner to finish. To what extent the Brethren were artists and illustrators it is hard to say.

On the other hand, when we come to the Rylands incunabula, we are in no doubt. The Library has five notable examples of the printing activity of the Brethren before 1500. One of its best treasures is the Ghetidenboec issued by them at Gouda on 20th April, 1496.[4] This little book of Hours (*Getyde van onser liever Vrowen*) is specially remarkable for its illustrations and decorated borders. The blocks for the illustrations were selected from a set of sixty-eight made by the ' Second Gouda Woodcutter ' for the printer, Gerard Leeu, and first used in Leeu's *Liden ons Heeren* in 1482. Then they travelled round, and in 1483 at least thirty-two of the series were at Haarlem, for the printer Bellaert used them in the first book printed by him, *Dat Liden ons Heeren.* They then returned to Leeu, who printed the whole in a *Devote Ghetiden*, published just after his arrival in Antwerp. Next we find some being used at Deventer in

[1] *Catalogue of the Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, i, 181.
[2] James, pp. 274-276. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 279-281.
[4] Campbell, No. 840. Not in Proctor.

1493; and in 1495 fifty of them taken by Peter van Os for his *Ludolphus de Saxonia*,[1] published at Zwolle. Thence they returned to Gouda in 1496 for the present Ghetidenboec.[2]

The other four now in the Rylands Library were printed by the Brethren at Brussels. The rarest is probably the *Sporta* or *Sportula Fragmentorum*, by Aegidius Carlerius or Giles Carler,[3] dean of Cambrai. This consists mainly of essays and consultations on points of Canon Law. The date is either 1478 or 1479. On 16th May, 1480, the Brethren issued the *Breviarium Carmelitanum*, which the Library possesses, and perhaps—though not conclusively—the same year, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, a particularly good piece of printing. The Letters of Peter of Blois, undated like the *Policraticus*, but clearly round about 1480-1481, make up our modest, but no less valuable, total.

[1] Campbell, No. 1184; Proctor, No. 9146.

[2] For their itinerary, cf. Sir W. M. Conway, *The Woodcutters of the Netherlands* (1884), pp. 40-53.

[3] Campbell, No. 398.

# ST. PAUL IN EPHESUS:

## (2) THE PROBLEM OF THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.[1]

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MORE than any other of Paul's letters the Epistle to the Galatians has been interpreted in terms of the doctrine of Justification by Faith: more than any other it has been regarded as the scriptural basis of the doctrine. It is no accident that one of the key documents among Luther's writings is his Commentary on Galatians; and his treatment of the Epistle is significant. At the outset he sets out briefly what he conceives to be the purport of Galatians:

> 'First of all it behoveth that we speak of the argument of this Epistle: that is to say, what matter St. Paul here chiefly treateth of. The argument, therefore, is this.
>
> 'St. Paul goeth about to establish the doctrine of faith, grace, forgiveness of sins, or Christian righteousness, to the end that we may have a perfect knowledge and difference between Christian righteousness and all other kinds of righteousness.'

There follow some seven closely packed pages of further explanation of this theme, and then at the end:

> 'Thus far concerning the argument of this Epistle, whereof Paul entreateth, taking occasion of false teachers who had darkened this righteousness of faith among the Galatians, against whom he setteth himself in defending and commending his authority and office.' [2]

[1] An expansion of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 11th of January, 1940.

[2] Luther, *A Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London, 1838), pp. xxxiii and xxxix.

Who, reading this argument as a whole, would ever suspect that almost half (about two-fifths to be more precise) of the letter is taken up with Paul's defence of himself and his apostolic status ?

Moreover, it is desirable to make clear to ourselves the central point in Paul's argument in this letter. If it is true to say that two-fifths are defence of Paul's status, it is equally true to say that at least another two-fifths are counter-attack. The nature of this counter-attack can be briefly indicated.

It is said to the Gentile Christians by Paul's rivals : ' You *must* be circumcised if you are to be true Christians '.

The logical contradictory of this is : ' You *need not* be circumcised in order to be true Christians.'

But Paul says : ' You *must not* be circumcised, if you are to be true Christians '. This is the contrary of the original contention. It carries the war into the enemy's camp. And it prepares us for the central argument of Galatians, which is not designed to prove the Law *unnecessary* for Gentile Christians, but to prove it *obsolete*, superseded. To go back to it is to be a traitor to the Gospel, to apostatise from Christianity. The violence of this opposition is in part to be explained by the fact that Paul is also facing a violent personal attack.

This gives the first indication for the dating of the Epistle. The only time when Paul appears to have had to face an attack of this kind and of this gravity is in the Ephesian period ; and the situation revealed in the Philippian and Corinthian letters is, I think, substantially that presupposed by Galatians. Only preoccupation with Justification *sola fide* obscures this fact for us. I shall therefore begin this investigation with the working hypothesis that Galatians belongs to the Ephesian period. I shall assume one other thing : that the persons addressed are those whom Paul and Barnabas evangelized on the First Missionary Journey, the Christians of South Galatia.[1]

[1] Note that Galatians is a circular letter. It is addressed *ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας*. Presumably the copy sent was to circulate through the group of congregations and be read in each. It is most unlikely that " the Galatians " could ever have been together as a single unit. This makes it probable that any action which they seem to take as a united group, is suggested and engineered by the anti-Pauline agitators. This would apply especially to the composition and despatch of the hypothetical letter from " the Galatians " to Paul, for which I argue below.

So much by way of preface. We turn now to see what can be learned from Galatians about Paul and his missionary work.

The reader of our English versions, and still more the student of the Greek text, must be struck by the extraordinary jerkiness and abruptness of the style—extraordinary even for Paul. This is usually explained as being due to the strong emotion under which the Apostle was labouring when he composed the letter; and this is no doubt a true explanation up to a point. But it is possible that there is another factor, which would help to account for this phenomenon. It may be that Paul is replying to a communication, oral or written, received from the Galatians (or about them). I should suggest that there are indications of the existence of such a communication in Gal. i. 6-9, 10; iii. 1-5; iv. 8-20; v. 7-12. And I should make a tentative reconstruction of its contents in this fashion.

> The Galatians are receiving another account of Christianity (ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον) from missionaries who claim to be accredited from the Mother-Church in Jerusalem. They point out that Paul lacks these credentials.[1] The revised version of the Gospel (ἕτερον εὐαγγ.) involves, of course, circumcision and the adoption of other wholesome Jewish practices, including the ritual calendar (iv. 10). When the Galatians ask—as well they may—why they were not told about all these obligations when they were first converted by Paul, the answer given by their new ministers is that Paul is a somewhat easy-going missionary who accommodates his preaching to the tastes of his hearers, making himself and his Gospel agreeable to them (i. 10).[2] True, the preaching of Christ crucified is good and the gift of the Holy Spirit is a very great blessing; but these things are not the whole story. The Galatians must complete the good work, and

[1] Paul's claim that his Apostleship is not ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, and that his Gospel is not κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, is double-edged. It means to say: (*a*) My opponents in Galatia claim to have Apostolic credentials and the authentic complete Jerusalem version of the Gospel. They say I lack these things. I don't want them, for (*b*) my authority and my Gospel are both derived from another (and a better) source.

[2] The foundation in fact on which this libel was based may be found in I Cor. ix. 20 ff.

the new missionaries are showing them the way (iii. 1-5). They do Paul no injustice by trying to improve themselves and adding to what he taught them (iv. 13). And if Paul chooses to take offence at this, it is he who is picking the quarrel, not the Galatians (iv. 16). But anyhow Paul is somewhat temperamental and liable to behave in quite incalculable ways. The new missionaries suggest that perhaps it is to be explained by his physical disabilities. If that is so, the Galatians will quite understand (iv. 13-15).

Something of this sort seems to lie behind Galatians as we know it; and bits of this communication flash before Paul's mind as he tries to produce something that will meet the emergency. That would explain why the composition is so jerky and disconnected. There is consequently no need to force logical cohesion all through the letter; and, indeed, it is probably a mistake to try.

It is the fact that his whole life's work is at stake that prompts the long autobiographical section in chapters i and ii. It bristles with difficulties, mostly (not all) arising from the necessity of fitting Paul's account into the narrative of Acts. In this matter three canons may be proposed:

(*a*) Where Acts and Galatians conflict, the preference should generally be given to Galatians.

(*b*) Any reconstruction of the events which involves tampering with the order in Gal. i, ii is to be regarded with suspicion. And, on the other hand, a reconstruction which allows us to preserve the Galatian order should have that fact accounted to it for righteousness.

(*c*) Never to forget Paul's purpose in writing the whole letter, and the first two chapters in particular. Galatians is Paul's *apologia pro vita sua*.

The autobiographical section opens with a picture of Saul of Tarsus persecuting the Church, a picture which has its counterpart in Acts (vii. 54-viii. 3; ix. 1 f.). It is not irrelevant to inquire how long this period in the Apostle's life lasted. I am inclined to think that it was very short, and, indeed, that the whole period covered by Acts i-ix was quite short too. The first five chapters of Acts speak in the main of the progress and popularity

of the Christian community in Jerusalem. There is a certain amount of police action by the high officials of the Temple, but nothing that could be called systematic persecution. Acts vi. 1-6 describes the appointment of the Seven and vi. 7 mentions further progress. With vi. 8-viii 1[a] troubles begin with the case of Stephen; and, following upon the death of Stephen, we have (viii. 1[b]-40) an account of the dispersal of the persecuted Jerusalem Christians and the consequent spread of the Gospel.[1] Meanwhile Saul is persecuting the Jerusalem Church (viii. 3) and in chapter ix, we come to his expedition to Damascus and his conversion.

The inferences to be drawn from the narrative of Acts i-ix are these. (*a*) The Jerusalem Church begins, on the whole, prosperously. Serious trouble does not arise until the community has already grown too large for its affairs to be managed by the Twelve. Moreover, it is one of the Seven who awakes the spirit of persecution, and that among Diaspora Jews. Indeed the first serious persecution looks like a feud between Diaspora Jews and Diaspora Jewish-Christians. (*b*) Events move rapidly. Chapters i-v seem to me to be meant to give the impression of swift growth. And when persecution begins it, too, moves swiftly and fiercely. Consequently, when we are considering the time occupied by the events of Acts i-ix, we should think in terms of weeks rather than months and months rather than years. If, with Fotheringham, we date the Crucifixion at the Passover of A.D. 33, I should be inclined to place all the events described in Acts up to Paul's conversion before the end of A.D. 34.

(*c*) With regard to Saul's persecutions it is to be noted that in Acts he is shown as active in connexion with two places and two only, Jerusalem and Damascus. (This is a characteristic which reappears in Paul the Apostle: he goes for the strategic points every time.) That Saul's persecuting activity was thus restricted is confirmed by Gal. i. 22 where Paul says that after his conversion he was still unknown by face to the Churches of Judaea. Hence we may infer that his activity was neither widespread nor prolonged. It is probable that it amounts to a lightning campaign in Jerusalem, which was about to be

[1] This section is largely devoted to the missionary work of Philip.

followed by another in Damascus, when his conversion intervened.

Three years after his conversion Paul paid his first visit to the leaders of the Jerusalem community (Gal. i. 18-24). He says that the purpose of his visit was to get acquainted with Peter, presumably since Peter was the leader of the Twelve. He also saw James the Lord's brother. And that was all that happened in a stay of fifteen days. (Presumably Peter and James were the only leaders in residence at the time.) There is a parallel to this in Acts ix. 26-30. There are difficulties in reconciling the two stories: enough to cast doubt on some particulars in the Acts account, but not enough to bring in question the substantial identity of the two visits (G1 = A1).

Then after a lapse of fourteen years comes the second visit (G2) made by Paul, Barnabas, and Titus [1] (Gal. ii. 1-10). Since Barnabas is of the party it is most unlikely that the visit took place later than the commencement of the Second Missionary Journey. For at that point Paul and Barnabas parted company and do not seem to have joined forces again. Now Acts tells of *two* visits to Jerusalem by Paul and Barnabas before they fell out: one (A2) in Acts xi (the so-called Famine visit), the other (A3) in Acts xv (the Council visit). Supposing that the second visit described by Paul has a counterpart in Acts, the possibilities may be shown thus:

(i) G2 = A2 (A3 not described in Gal.).

(ii) G2 = A3 (A2 not described in Gal.).

(iii) G2 = A2 = A3 (all being different accounts of one and the same visit; G2 being Paul's, A2 that of the Church at Antioch, A3 that of the Jerusalem community). All three equations have been defended: (i) by Ramsay and by Lake (*Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*), (ii) by Lightfoot in his Commentary on Galatians, (iii) by Lake following Weizsäcker, McGiffert, and

[1] Titus does not appear at all in Acts. From the Pauline Epistles it appears that he was Paul's trusted lieutenant during the period covered by the Corinthian correspondence. Whence he came we do not know. He was a Gentile Christian, probably one of Paul's converts, and so presumably from one of the provinces in which Paul had worked—Syria, Cilicia, or even—if we put the second visit after the First Missionary Journey—Galatia. I am inclined to think that he was a member of the Church at Antioch.

Schwartz (*Beginnings of Christianity*, v. 195-212).[1] It is in connexion with these identifications that the difficulties arise.[2] To appreciate them it is necessary to examine somewhat carefully Paul's own account of the visit.

> 'Then, after a lapse of fourteen years, I again went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along also. And I went up in accordance with a revelation, and I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles (but privately before the men of repute) lest possibly I should run or had run in vain. But not even Titus, who was with me, Greek though he was, was compelled to be circumcised —but because of the interloping bogus Christians, who sneaked in to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ, that they may reduce us to slavery—to whom not for a moment did we yield in submission. And from those who were accounted to be something—what they once were matters nothing to me: God has no favourites—for to me the men of repute added nothing. But, on the contrary, seeing that I had been entrusted with the mission to the uncircumcised, as Peter with that to the circumcised—for he who empowered Peter for an apostleship to the circumcised empowered me also to the Gentiles—and realising the grace conferred upon me, James and Cephas and John, who were regarded as pillars, gave to me and Barnabas right hands of fellowship (agreeing) that we should go to the Gentiles, they to the circumcised. (The) only (other point settled was) that we should remember the poor, which very thing I have been zealous to do.'

This passage is very jerky and disconnected, and full of difficulties of interpretation; but we can get some things reasonably clear.

(1) *The purpose of the visit.* To make sure that Paul and Barnabas on the one side and the Jerusalem leaders on the other

[1] The authors and works cited will give the English reader a clear statement of the case for each view.

[2] Stated most trenchantly by F. C. Baur, *Paulus* (2nd ed., 1866), i. 119-165. The main points in his argument against the identification of G2 and A3 seem to me to be unanswered and unanswerable.

were at one with regard to the fundamentals of the Gospel, so that Paul's converts would be recognised by the authorities in Jerusalem as genuine Christians and real members of the Church. This was vitally important for Paul just because he held such strong convictions about the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ. If, after a missionary campaign, his converts were refused the name of Christian and denied the status of members of Christ's Body, his work would be crippled and made ineffective. Such a calamity must not be allowed to happen and need not happen if there could be agreement on essentials.

(2) *The result of the visit.* (*a*) Paul tells us that he saw the Jerusalem leaders privately and that after a frank discussion they found that they were in agreement with him and had nothing to add to his Gospel. (*b*) The Jerusalem leaders recognised that Paul's status and appointment were from God in the same sense as their own. (*c*) Spheres of action were agreed upon. Paul and Barnabas, themselves Christians whose origin was from the Diaspora, were to go to the 'Foreign field', the Twelve (or 'the Pillars')—Palestinian Jews—were to take charge of the 'Home mission'. This was obvious common sense.[1] (*d*) Paul undertook to raise funds for the aid of the impoverished Jerusalem community.

This takes no account of Gal. ii. 3-5. These verses are usually taken as describing something that happened during the course of the conference. It is supposed that the issue of circumcision of Gentile Christians was raised in the case of Titus, thus providing a test case and a precedent for the future. The difficulty is that if Titus was a test case, Paul's account of it is utterly inept. Either Titus was circumcised or he was not. If he was not, it should have been simple to say so outright: 'Certain false brethren wanted to have Titus circumcised, but I put my foot down'. If he was circumcised, the fact would be well advertised in Galatia by Paul's opponents, and the involved and stumbling

[1] It is noteworthy that even now, at least fifteen years after the Crucifixion, the Jerusalem Apostles do not seem to have an idea beyond Home Mission work. (See Baur, *Paulus*, i. 142 ff.) I cannot accept Wrede's account (*Paul*, 68 f.): 'The most that was attained was an agreement to differ. The union meant at the same time separation: Paul was to go to the Gentiles, Peter to the Jews.' It does not appear that there was any such feeling in Paul's mind at the time.

verbiage of these verses would be worse than useless as camouflage for that nasty fact.[1]

I believe there is a way of dealing with this passage that makes sense and allows us to keep our respect for Paul's intelligence. I venture to think that *v.* 3 belongs to the time of the conference, and that *vv.* 4 and 5 describe something that happened later. This later happening still rankles in Paul's mind, and the mere mention of circumcision brings it all back in awkward parentheses. The sense of the whole passage will then be something like this :

> 'The issue of compulsory circumcision did not arise on this occasion, though Titus who was with me was an obvious case being a Greek. When at a later date it was brought up it was through certain interlopers and bogus Christians . . . and *in your interests* we refused absolutely to make any concessions.'

The fact that stress is laid on Paul's refusal being in the interest of the Galatians (ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) suggests that *vv.* 4 and 5 describe something posterior to the evangelization of the Galatians. As will appear presently, I think that the rest of the section describes a conference which took place before the First Missionary Journey.

(3) *The time of the visit.* The whole account seems to imply a private conference between leading men in the Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, conducted in a friendly spirit, without any contentious matters arising, and ending in a friendly and sensible allocation of missionary tasks. This does not seem to me to resemble what is described either in Acts xi or in Acts xv.

[1] Against Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, 118 : 'Who can doubt that it was the knife that really did circumcise Titus that has cut the syntax of Gal. ii. 3-5 to pieces ?' A. D. Nock's suggestion (*St. Paul*, 109) that 'Paul firmly refused to circumcise Titus, or to recommend him to be circumcised, but that . . . Titus, under pressure, but on his own initiative and without consulting Paul, had himself circumcised in the hope of easing a difficult situation' is ingenious ; but it is open to the objection that if that is what actually happened, it would have been easy for Paul to say so : 'Titus was circumcised, I admit, but without my knowledge or consent. He did it with the best intentions ; and while I fully approve the motive that prompted the act I must repudiate the act itself.' But Paul does not say this or anything like it.

Further, the visit described here in Gal. ii does not fit the circumstances which occasioned either of the visits described in Acts. If we ask ourselves when such a visit as G2 might have been expected to take place, the obvious answer is: on the eve of some big new missionary enterprise. With that the place of the visit in the history of the Primitive Church is at once suggested: the period immediately before Paul and Barnabas set out for Cyprus and Asia Minor on the first deliberately planned piece of aggressive mission work of the Church. In that case it is possible to give a really satisfying meaning to the phrase ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, for in Acts xiii. i f. we read: 'And there were in Antioch prophets and teachers. . . . And when they were engaged in service to the Lord and fasting the Holy Spirit said to them, "Come, separate to me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them"' (Lake and Cadbury's translation). It is true that Acts does not record a visit by Paul and Barnabas in connexion with the First Missionary Journey; but there are many other things that must have happened which are not recorded in Acts.

Supposing for the moment that this identification is correct, what is the probable date of the second Galatian visit (G2)? It can be calculated to within a year or so by back-reckoning from the date of Paul's departure from Corinth. This should most probably be placed in the early summer of A.D. 51 or 52, which gives midwinter 49/50 or 50/51 for his arrival in the city. At the other end the date of the Famine visit (Acts xi) can also be determined with fair certainty. Evidence from Egypt shows that there was scarcity there—in one of the greatest grain-producing centres of the Roman Empire—from autumn 45 to spring 46.[1] There is evidence for a famine in Judaea during the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, i.e. in 46 or 47.[2] The sabbatical year fell to be observed in the twelve months beginning in the autumn (1 Tishri) of 47. Its effects would be felt most acutely from about Passover 48 to Passover 49. All these facts together suggest that there would be scarcity in greater or less degree from autumn 45 to spring 49 in Palestine.

[1] See the article on the Universal Famine under Claudius, by K. S. Gapp, in *Harvard Theological Review*, xxviii. 258-265.

[2] See Lake in *Beginnings of Christianity*, v. 452-455.

The Famine visit may well fall in 46 or early 47. In that case the events described in Acts xii. 25-xviii. 1 will fall in the years 47 to 49 or 50. They may be distributed thus :

First Missionary Journey 47 or 48.
Intervening events including Jerusalem Council 48 or 49.
Second Missionary Journey 49 or 50.

The second Galatian visit will then be placed in 47 or early in 48, about fourteen years after Paul's conversion.

Our theory is that this second Galatian visit was followed by the First Missionary Journey during which the Galatian Churches were founded. This journey was followed by a stay in Antioch during which we most probably should place the next incident recorded in Galatians (ii. 11-14).

> ' And when Cephas came to Antioch I resisted him to his face because he stood condemned. For before someone came from James he used to eat with the Gentiles ; but when (this person) came he backed down and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision. And there joined him in this hypocrisy the rest of the Jews, so that even Barnabas was carried along with their hypocrisy. But when I saw that they were not advancing towards [1] the truth of the Gospel, I said to Cephas in the presence of everybody, " If you, though a Jew, live Gentile fashion and not as a Jew, how is it that you constrain the Gentiles to live as Jews ? " '

On this important passage there are some remarks to be made.

First about the text. In *v.* 12[b] the best of the MS. authority is on the side of the singular verb ἦλθεν ' he came ' against ἦλθον ' they came '. Ἦλθεν is the reading of ℵBD*G and the Old Latin authorities *d e g*. It was certainly known to Origen who understood it to mean that James came down to Antioch in person. The difficulty is that in the preceding clause the accepted text speaks of ' certain persons ' (plural) as having come down from James, and one naturally expects a plural verb to follow. Alternatively, of course, one might have a singular subject in the first clause, and this reading was in fact presupposed by the Old Latin

[1] On the translation of ὀρθοποδοῦσι see the note by C. H. Roberts in *J.T.S.*, xl (1939), 55 f.

texts *d e g* r**. But this evidence by itself seemed insufficient to justify reading a singular subject in the first clause and a singular verb in the second. The textual question is, however, reopened by the fact that the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline Epistles ($P^{46}$) supports both readings: in $12^a$ it has *TINA* with *d e g* r**, and in $12^b$ it has *HΛΘEN* with ℵBD*G and the Old Latin. We may also add Irenaeus' testimony: '*cum* tamen *aduenisset quidam ab jacobo*'.[1] I think that $P^{46}$ gives the true text of Galatians in *v.* 12 for the following reasons:—

(*a*) The weight of evidence in favour of ἦλθεν is very great—almost overwhelming: and if ἦλθεν be accepted, it automatically creates a presumption in favour of τινὰ.

(*b*) The supporters of τινὰ are now the very respectable company: $P^{46}$ *d e g* r** Irenaeus.

(*c*) The substitution of τινὰς for τινὰ may be explained as a confused reminiscence of Acts xv. 1: καί τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωυσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι.

(*d*) The subsequent developments tell against the view that either James or a deputation of right-wing Jewish Christians arrived in Antioch. For if such persons had been present, Paul could not have ignored their presence. Yet in his own account of the matter he says that he tackled Peter (and apparently Peter only) in the presence of all. If this was a public protest—and it clearly was—Paul must have attacked those who had stirred up the trouble as well as Peter. That he did not do so indicates that they never existed except in the imagination of some scribe. Paul concentrates his attack on Peter because Peter is the leader, on the spot, of what is, from Paul's point of view, a retrograde movement which has swept away Barnabas and the rest of the Jews.

That being so, we accept the singular readings and understand that the 'somebody' of $12^a$ was a messenger (Paul describes him in this vague way most probably because he did not know or had forgotten the man's name). He brought the message

[1] On the reading of Irenaeus at this point see Sanday and Turner, *Nouum Testamentum S. Irenaei*, p. 154, where the O.L. evidence is also given in a convenient form.

from James to Peter which broke up the happy relations till then subsisting between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Antioch. What was the purport of this message? We do not know. Perhaps Paul himself did not know. We can only conjecture what it was from its results. Paul mentions two. First it had the effect of throwing Peter into a panic—not for the first time. He feared 'those of the circumcision'. This phrase is used by Paul in Rom. iv. 12; Col. iv. 11, and it also appears in Acts x. 45; xi. 2. It means 'the circumcised', 'the Jews'. This does not exclude the possibility that οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς are converts to Christianity; but it is not necessarily implied and it is certainly not stated by Paul. The most natural interpretation would be that οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς were the occasion of James's message to Peter, and that they were either Jewish Christian members of the Jerusalem community (cf. Acts x. 45; xxi. 20 ff.) or Jews outside who could find in Peter's behaviour a new ground of complaint against the Church, namely that its leaders were apostatising from Judaism. And the alternatives are not mutually exclusive: both factors could well have been operative, and the language of Galatians excludes neither.[1] In this connexion it must be borne in mind that Peter as head of the 'Home Mission' work of the Church had to consider the feelings of those whom he was evangelising.

The second result of James's communication is that Peter 'backed down and withdrew' (or perhaps 'played the Pharisee').[2] This doubtless means that he discontinued his practice of table-fellowship with Gentile Christians. Why? The only really probable answer is that the Gentile Christians were suspected—no doubt rightly—of not observing the Jewish dietary laws[3] in the selection and preparation of the food which was set before the mixed company of Jewish and Gentile Christians. There is abundant evidence, before as well as after the Christian Era, to show how suspicious was the devout Jew of partaking of Gentile

[1] The fact that the objections were apparently being made at Jerusalem and to James may be regarded as an indication of his position in the community there.

[2] See my *Teaching of Jesus*, 241 f.

[3] On these laws see Moore, *Judaism*, ii. 74 f.; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im ZA. Jesu Christi*[4], ii. 91-94; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, 534 f.; S. R. Driver, Commentary on Daniel (*Cambridge Bible*), note on Dan. i. 8-10.

hospitality because of the danger of consuming food that had been offered on heathen altars or that had not been slaughtered in the proper way.[1] It would be a great mistake to regard this as a mere superstitious fad. The truth is that, whatever the origins of the dietary customs, they had been clothed with a special sanctity in the second century B.C. Then, in the attempt to hellenize the Jews, unclean foods had been forced upon them and the Maccabaean martyrs had resisted unto death.[2]

All that has to be added is that as a result of Peter's abstention Barnabas and the other Christians of Jewish origin also withdrew from table-fellowship with their Gentile brethren. And with that Peter destroyed something valuable—a spirit born of the Gospel, which had made Jews and Gentiles (Aryans and non-Aryans) forget their mutual prejudices and suspicions and sit down together as brethren. What was worse, in all probability he destroyed something that he had not himself created, something that was already in existence before he came to Antioch.

Taking all these facts into account we may suppose that the message from James was to this effect :

> ' News has come to Jerusalem that you are eating Gentile food at Gentile tables, and this is causing great scandal to many devout brethren besides laying us open to serious criticism from the Scribes and Pharisees. Pray discontinue this practice, which will surely do great harm to our work among our fellow-countrymen.'

If we now turn to Acts and ask ourselves where is the most natural setting for all this, the obvious answer is that the decisions of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv) seem to contemplate just such a situation as that which had arisen at Antioch. At least that is so on what appears to me to be the most reasonable interpretation of the Council's decisions. However, as there is difference of opinion among scholars, it is necessary to examine the proceedings of the Council. It will be convenient to begin at

[1] Dan. i. 8-10 ; Esther, LXX, iv. 17[z] (ed. Rahlfs, i. p. 961) ; *Judith*, xii. 1, 2 ; *Tobit*, i. 10, 11 ; *Jub.* xxii. 16 ; Josephus, *Life*, ch. 3 (§§ 13 f.) ; *Ant.* iv. 137 ; Posidonius, cited by Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (1895), p. 57.

[2] *I Macc.* i. 47-49, 62-64 ; *II Macc.* vi. 18-vii. 41.

the end and work backwards. The business of the Council terminated with the dispatch of two official delegates bearing a letter containing the findings of the Council. The crux of the matter lies in Acts xv. 28 f. :

> ' It was decided by the Holy Spirit and by us to put no further burden on you than these essentials—to abstain from things offered to idols and blood and that which is strangled and fornication. And if you keep yourselves from them you will be doing right.'

This embodies a proposal which had already been put forward in the speech of James the Lord's brother (xv. 19 f.). The terms are later repeated in a conversation between Paul and the Jerusalem authorities recorded in Acts xxi. 20-25.

There are two well-worn problems here. The first concerns the text, the second the interpretation, of the decrees : and the two hang together.[1]

First the text. In the translation given above four things are forbidden. These four appear in all three places (Acts xv. 20 ; xv. 29 ; xxi. 25) in the MSS. of the B family, in the Peshiṭta, and (for xv. 29) in Clement of Alexandria. The so-called Western text differs in two respects : (*a*) it has only three forbidden things, omitting ' that which is strangled ' ; (*b*) all the authorities for this type of text, except Tertullian, add a form of the Golden Rule at the end of the list, and three of them (Codex Bezae, Irenaeus, and Tertullian) add a reference to the Holy Spirit after the words ' you will be doing right ' in xv. 29. A smaller group of authorities comprising Origen (*C. Cels.* viii. 29), the Harris MS. of the Syriac *Didascalia* (cited by Preuschen in his commentary on Acts), and (for xv. 20)[2] the Chester Beatty codex $P^{45}$, omit ' fornication ' from the list. There is a further point. In the three places in Acts the order of the items in the

[1] For the text see the discussions by Ropes, *Beginnings of Christianity*, iii. 265-269 ; Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 360 f. (earlier literature cited by Ropes, *op. cit.*, p. 269). For the exegesis of the decree see especially Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, v, 204-212 ; Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (1908), pp. 188-198.

[2] α]λλ επιστειλαι αυτοις του απεχεσθαι των αλι[σγηματων των ειδω]λων· και του πνικτου· και του αιματος μωση[ς γαρ εκ. The papyrus is unfortunately not extant for the other two places.

list is different: in xv. 20 it is 'idol offerings, fornication, things strangled, blood'; in xv. 29 and xxi. 25 it is 'idol-offerings, blood, things strangled, fornication'. The undisputed members of the list are 'idol-offerings' and 'blood'; the other two appear now before 'blood', now after it.

It will be observed that the effect of the peculiar 'Western' readings is to exclude any food-law explanation, and virtually to compel the reading of the decrees as a compendium of moral requirements. That in itself makes these readings suspect. Consequently, if we judge that the Western authorities are wrong in adding the Golden Rule and the reference to the Holy Spirit, we are bound to ask whether they are not also wrong in omitting 'the thing that is strangled'. Nor can we stop there. In the light of the reading of $P^{45}$ and Origen we must ask whether the appearance of the word 'fornication' in the list is not one of the first steps in the process of moralisation. For it is well known that the Western text can be interpreted in a sense which makes it practically equivalent to the decisions of the Jewish Council of Lydda held after the rebellion under Hadrian (A.D. 132-135). There it was decided that, *if his life were at stake*, a Jew might break any commandment of the Law except those prohibiting idolatry (עבודה זרה), sexual immorality (גלוי עריות), and murder (שפיכות דמים).[1] It is simple and tempting to equate ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων with עבודה זרה, πορνεία with גלוי עריות, and αἷμα with שפיכות דמים. But it cannot be done without reducing the findings of the Jerusalem Council to absurdity.

For the situations are not parallel. The Jewish Council of Lydda was legislating for Jews in peril of their lives in a time of fierce and relentless persecution, and the three things mentioned are things which a Jew must not do even to save his life. But no such dreadful dilemma faces the Gentile convert to Christianity. The Council of Jerusalem is not legislating for Gentile Christians confronted with the alternatives: eat idol-offerings or be slain. And for a gathering of Apostles and elders to lay down in solemn form that well-behaved Christians will abstain from idolatry, fornication, and murder is simply to make fools of themselves. Ecclesiastical gatherings have before now achieved

[1] On this see the article by Dr. J. W. Hunkin in *J.T.S.*, xxvii (1926), 272-283.

remarkable results in the way of pompous platitude; but it is asking too much to expect us to believe that the Fathers at Jerusalem (who were presumably in possession of those 'sayings of Jesus' which went to make up such a document as Q) perpetrated this, or that the Paul, who wrote I Cor. xiii and Rom. xii, could ever have allowed it to pass. For it would fix for the Gentile Christian a lower minimum standard of conduct than the Jewish Law normally required from the resident alien.[1] And, in its context, the finding could only mean: 'We Jewish Christians have, of course, to maintain a somewhat high standard to which you converts from heathenism cannot be expected to attain. Consequently we must overlook such peccadilloes as lying, thieving, fraud, bullying, and backbiting, but we do draw the line at idolatry, fornication, and murder.' Neither the legalistic Jewish Christians nor the anti-legalist Paul could ever have supposed that you solve the problems created by the existence of the Mosaic Law by the whittling down of moral standards. It is too much like the imaginary examination paper which consisted of the Ten Commandments together with the rubric: 'Candidates are advised not to attempt more than six of these'—except that in this case the requirement for a pass is reduced to three. It is too ridiculous to be credible.

But if the 'ethical' interpretation breaks down, the only real alternative is that which understands the prohibitions in connexion with Jewish dietary practice. And in that case 'fornication' is quite out of place in the list and should be removed from the text. This leaves us with idol-offerings, that which is strangled, and blood. The only textual evidence against τοῦ πνικτοῦ (τῶν πνικτῶν) is its absence from the Western authorities. (Perhaps we should add here its variable position in the lists.) But its absence from the Western text is somewhat discounted by the consideration that it was absolutely necessary if the decree was to be understood in a purely 'ethical' sense. It *may*, therefore, have been ejected in the process of moralisation which produced the Western text. On the other hand it may be argued that if it was absent from the original form of the decree, anyone who was bent on an ethical interpretation would find no obstacle

[1] See Moore, *Judaism*, i. 338 f., for these requirements.

in his path, since the remaining two items might be taken in either way.

There is one other objection to the genuineness of τοῦ πνικτοῦ. It was raised by Wellhausen and relied upon by Harnack.[1] It is that πνικτόν is included under αἷμα, so that if αἷμα, in the sense of 'eating meat with blood in it' is forbidden, πνικτόν is automatically forbidden at the same time. In strict logic no doubt this is so. It would seem that πνικτόν is a comprehensive term for meat from animals not slaughtered in accordance with Jewish rules. But one might obtain meat that conformed to all the Jewish rules in regard to slaughtering, and still be guilty of the αἷμα by failing to prepare it properly before cooking. It is perhaps possible that πνικτόν is meant to cover the slaughter of the animal, and αἷμα the preparation of the meat for the table.[2] This would be the more plausible if the order πνικτὸν αἷμα, as in xv. 20, were the original. But all this is highly conjectural, and we cannot exclude the possibility that πνικτόν is an early gloss on αἷμα. I do not attempt to decide the question here, and am content with the conclusion that, whether the decree covered idol-offerings, things strangled, and blood, or idol-offerings and blood only, it was a provision regulating the dinner tables of the Gentile Christians.[3]

The difficulties begin when we attempt to relate this result to what has gone before in the Acts account of the Council. The essence of the matter is that the Council was ostensibly convened to deal with the question of the circumcision of Gentile Christians and that it ended by issuing regulations about the common table of Jewish and Gentile Christians. The decrees are

[1] *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 191.

[2] See Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, i. 120, 502; Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, ii. 735 ff.

[3] There is a good deal of evidence to show that the decrees regarded as a food law continued to be observed in the Church in post-apostolic times. In particular, abstinence from blood appears as the rule in Gaul (Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 1, 26) and Africa (Tertullian, *Apol.*, ix. 13). In the Eastern Church the 'eating of blood' was regarded as a serious ecclesiastical offence punishable in the case of clergy by deposition, and in the case of a layman by excommunication (Conc. in Trullo, Canon 67; see Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, iii. 571). See further, Suicer, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus* (1682), i. 113 (*s.v.* αἷμα); Grotius, *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum*, ii (1646), 80 ff.

the answer to the question raised in Gal. ii. 11-14: they are not, *and cannot be*, the answer to the issue raised in Acts xv. 1. That is the fundamental internal difficulty in Acts xv. We have also to face the following facts.

(*a*) If G2 = A3 we have to explain the inexplicable behaviour of Peter at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11 ff.), which can only be done by supposing that Paul has told his story out of order.

(*b*) In I Thess. ii. 13-16 Paul speaks very kindly and appreciatively of 'the Churches of God which are in Judaea in Jesus Christ'; and there is no word of any demand for circumcision. The only difficulty is the opposition of the Jews (*not* Jewish Christians) to any mission work at all among the Gentiles.

(*c*) The demand for circumcision of Gentile Christians is being made insistently at the time when Galatians is written, and it appears as a live question in I Corinthians, Philippians, and Romans. That is to say, the question which, in Acts, is supposed to have been settled for ever before the Second Missionary Journey appears as a live issue for the first time in the Pauline letters in documents which we may assign to the time of the Third Missionary Journey.

When all these data are considered together they at least suggest the possibility that the narrative of Acts xv is composite, and that the demand for circumcision of Gentile Christians reported in Acts xv. 1 and 5 *may* have been first made at a later time, perhaps on the visit recorded in Acts xviii. 22. But it is not possible to enter into the detailed consideration of these possibilities here. All that can be done is to reconstruct the probable course of events, taking Paul's narrative as the foundation. On that basis it may be said that the incident at Antioch as described by Paul furnished the occasion for the Council meeting whose decisions are given in Acts xv. I think it probable that Paul and Barnabas were present at that meeting. Whether or not the issue of circumcision was raised on this occasion, as related in Acts xv, we cannot say. If it was, it was a side issue and was ignored.[1] The matter of table-fellowship

[1] It is to be noted that circumcision is not even mentioned in the Apostolic letter. This is very remarkable if the Council had been summoned expressly to deal with this very question.

was settled by the decree. In this way table-fellowship was restored, which was what Paul wanted; but it was a *kosher* table, which was what James wanted.

There remains one difficulty. If the decree is the answer to the question raised in Gal. ii. 11-14 why does not Paul state the Jerusalem decision, which we may presume that he accepted as a fair settlement of the difficulty? It seems to me that there are two possible answers to this question. Either Paul does not quote the decree because there is as yet no decree to quote, which would, of course, mean that Galatians was written before the Council of Jerusalem; or he does not quote the decree because he no longer regards it as binding, in which case we may date Galatians at any time after (but not too soon after) the Council. There are reasons which incline one to prefer the second alternative.

We call the outcome of the Council a decree; but in fact it was a working compromise. The end to be served by the observance of the prohibitions was the restoration of the table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians which had been interrupted at Antioch. It was a reasonable request that where Jewish Christian Apostles were the guests of Gentile Christians, they should not be—so to speak—unjewed, and their work among their Jewish brethren thus jeopardised. Further, it could be represented that it would be an act of Christian courtesy on the part of the Gentile converts to make this concession to the needs of the Jewish Christian members of the Church. There is no reason why Paul and Barnabas should not have accepted an agreement of this kind and have done their best to get it observed by the Gentile Christians. It involved no sacrifice of principle.

A few years pass and the situation is changed. The agreement described in Gal. ii. 9 is broken, and Paul's mission field is invaded by emissaries from the Jewish Christian side. This appears clearly not only in Galatians, but also in Philippians and in the Corinthian letters. Secondly the apostolic authority of Paul is questioned. This also appears clearly in these same documents. It seems fairly certain that part of the propaganda against Paul consisted in asserting that his Gospel was based on instruction received from Jewish Christian sources, and that his

missionary work had always been under the supervision and orders of the Jerusalem Apostles. In particular it could be urged that Paul had submitted to the authority of Jerusalem in the matter of the common table for Jewish and Gentile Christians. For, admittedly, the practice in Antioch had been very free and easy until James intervened to restore order; and the Council of Jerusalem had in fact upheld James (and Peter) against Paul by imposing the dietary requirements on the Gentile Christians. So it could be represented.

Moreover, it seems likely that the acceptance by Paul of the dietary regulations had been made—as concessions so often are—the basis for new and more far-reaching demands. The Galatians are now asked to observe the Jewish calendar with all its high days and holidays (Gal. iv. 8-11) and to be circumcised (Gal. vi. 11-13).

Paul's response to this is two-fold. The radical retort is made here in Galatians. In effect it is this: 'So far from submitting to Jewish Christian requirements, I deny their right to exist. They are based upon the Jewish Law, and that Law is now obsolete, its place having been taken by the Gospel.' This is the central argument of the Epistle, announced in unmistakable and uncompromising terms in ii. 15 f.: 'I though a Jew by birth and not a "Gentile sinner", yet knowing that a man is not justified by works of the Law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ, even I believed in Christ Jesus that I might be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the Law; because by works of Law "shall no flesh be justified".'

It follows that circumcision, fasts and feasts, clean and unclean meats, are, all of them, *irrelevant to Christianity.*

But—and this is Paul's second point—it is still true that large numbers of sincere Christians, who have been brought up under the Law, have a sentimental attachment to these traditional customs. What should the Gentile Christian do about it? Paul's answer to that question is that the Jewish Christian *may* observe Jewish customs; but that the Gentile Christian *must not accept any positive obligation that limits his liberty as a Christian.* On the other hand, he may, and should, abstain from exercising his undoubted rights in order to avoid wounding the suscepti-

bilities of his less emancipated brother (I Cor. viii-x ; Rom. xiv). The genuine Pauline position is stated briefly in Gal. v. 1 and 13-15 (and the two passages must be held together) :—

> 'Christ set us free : stand, therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage. . . .
>
> 'Ye were called for freedom brethren. Only do not turn your freedom into an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another. For the whole Law (about which you have heard so much of late) is fulfilled in a single "word" ["One word" not "Ten words"; a μονόλογος rather than a δεκάλογος], namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".'

# ARMED RELIGIOUS ASCETICS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

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THE scholarly researches of the late Professor J. N. Farquhar brought to light, some fifteen years ago, much interesting information regarding the fighting ascetics of India, and more particularly regarding the armed Sannyāsīs, to the unravelling of whose history his attention was specially directed. The subject was one on which little information was available, and the further elucidation of which would, he believed, contribute much to the understanding of the present-day confusion of sects in North India. It was a keen disappointment to Dr. Farquhar, as to many of his friends, that he was obliged by ill-health to leave India before completing an investigation which had already begun to yield valuable results. The fruits of his study were embodied in two articles published in June, 1925: one entitled "The Organisation of the Sannyāsīs of the Vedānta", in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and the other entitled "The Fighting Ascetics of India", in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY (vol. 9, no. 2).

The present article is intended as a supplement to these two studies, and aims at bringing together such additional material as research has made available since the date of their publication. For the sake of clearness some of the main facts established by Dr. Farquhar are incorporated in the account which follows.

The warrior monk is a familiar figure in the history of mediæval Europe and the Near East. Much less has been heard of the armed Hindu devotees who played so stirring a part in the Indian wars of the eighteenth, and the opening decades of the nineteenth centuries. The letters and memoirs of the period,

from the days of the French traveller Tavernier onwards,[1] make frequent allusion to these doughty warriors, but little attempt is made to establish their identity. The standard text-books on Indian history are almost silent on the subject. It can hardly be said to be even widely known that, in the troubled years that witnessed the decline and final break-up of the Mogul power in India, a large part of northern India was overrun by marauding bands of armed religious ascetics, who usually travelled in large companies of horse and foot, taking heavy toll in the name of alms from the districts through which they passed, and ready to give battle to any who opposed their progress. Still less is it generally recognised that in the ranks of these warrior monks were to be found representatives of all the chief religious orders then established in North India.

The ancient orders, be it said, are not at all proud of this remarkable episode in their history. Some would go so far as to deny that their own particular fraternity had any part or lot in it. Apart from other conclusive evidence, however, the clear distinction still drawn in the several orders between the *bona-fide* initiate and the modern descendant (lineal or spiritual) of the old fighting Nāgā places the matter beyond dispute.

To speak of a brotherhood of peaceful ascetics suddenly "springing to arms" is indeed hardly to put the facts quite fairly. In the case of a warlike body such as the Sikhs the description may not be wholly inaccurate, though even the Sikh community has never been without its non-combatant members.[2] What happened as a rule, however, was something different. It was, in fact, simply the admission to the various orders, with or without some formal ceremony of initiation, of large numbers of fighting men, purely for purposes of defence. To call such an armed force into being was clearly an easier thing than to disband it when its presence began to prove an embarrassment. Had the situation been less perilous it is difficult to imagine resort having been had to so desperate an expedient. At the

[1] Towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Prof. Farquhar quotes Tavernier's description (*Travels in India*, i, 81, 1889 edn.) of an encounter with a party of armed faqirs (*Fighting Ascetics*, p. 10).

[2] The fighting Sikhs are distinguished by the title of *Akālī*, the "deathless ones". The order was founded by the Tenth Guru.

moment it seemed to be the one alternative to total extinction. Inoffensive sadhus attending the great religious fairs naturally chose to travel in the company of the armed champions of their cause. In times of imminent danger rival sects, forgetful of their theological differences, turned to the military leader who, in the rôle of *mahant*, or abbot, presided over the *akhārā*, or monastic settlement, best able to afford effective protection. Nevertheless, the opening of the doors of the religious orders to this undisciplined rabble of nominal devotees could not but have a profound influence on their later history.

The origin of the movement is of great interest. Successive tides of Muhammadan invasion, from the twelfth century onwards, had brought into India in the train of the conquering armies swarms of reckless adventurers of every description. Among these were large numbers of Muslim faqirs or dervishes (*darwesh*) whom the religious wars of the time had made familiar with the use of arms. Equipped with spear and battle-axe, these roamed at large throughout the subdued territories, murdering and pillaging at will. The Hindu ascetic orders were among the worst sufferers at their hands. Places of religious pilgrimage, with their steady flow of pious offerings, were a favourite hunting-ground of the fanatical faqir. Murderous assaults were made on parties of defenceless pilgrims bathing at these sacred spots. The sympathies of the Muslim authorities were for the most part on the side of the aggressors. In the absence of legal means of redress this wanton violence inevitably provoked reprisals.

Of the well-known Hindu ascetic orders, the first to have resort to arms were the Yogīs, or Nāths, disciples of Gorakhnāth, popularly known as *kānphaṭā* (split-eared) on account of the heavy pendants of stone or metal worn in the ears. Both in theory and in practice the Yogi was less hampered by the characteristic Hindu doctrine of *ahiṁsā* (harmlessness) than members of other religious orders. From very early times the cult was associated with dark and fearsome rites in which the sacrificial sword played an important part, and human sacrifice was not uncommon. The Yogis were also great practisers of magic, and were widely credited with the possession of occult powers as the result of their austerities: a reputation which enabled them to

play with peculiar effect on the hopes and fears of those who aspired to temporal power. The Yogi adept thus became the trusted counsellor of kings and nobles, and often a secret agent in the forwarding of their designs.[1] There can be no doubt that it is in the capacity, not merely of " ghostly comforters ", but of powerful temporal allies, that we find these " Druids of India ", as Tod picturesquely styles them, attached at an early date to the courts of several Rajput princes, such as Bāppa Rāwal of Mewār (Udaipur), and Rāo Jodhā of Mārwār (Jodhpur).

It is thus hardly surprising that, of the famous historic orders, the Yogis should be the first to offer armed resistance to the Muslim oppressor. It is also easy to see how, with their growth in numbers and power, the war of self-defence soon developed into one of active aggression, not only against the offending Muslim, but against their Hindu co-religionists as well. Dr. Farquhar quotes, among other instances, the case of a Yogi king who, about A.D. 1500, " had his lands in western India and kept a considerable body of Yogis. Once in three or four years some three thousand of these warriors went on pilgrimage and laid the whole country under contribution ".[2] " Never have I seen Yogi like this ", exclaims the reformer Kabīr, about the same date. " Shall I call such men ascetics or bandits ? " [3]

The next important group to join the militant movement is believed to have been the Sannyāsīs, the most venerable of all the classical religious orders. The Sannyāsīs, as reorganised by the eminent Vedantist scholar Śankarāchārya in the ninth century, were divided into ten sections, each with its own special designation. " Monasteries of all the ten sub-orders are still found in the South, their Sannyāsīs being all Brahmans ; but in the North there are pure monasteries only of the Tīrtha, Āśrama, and Sarasvatī sub-orders." [4] It was left to Professor

[1] Of one of these Yogi advisers of a later day who, when his master's fortunes were at their lowest ebb, predicted his speedy accession to the throne, Colonel Tod caustically remarks : " Prophetic gurus who beset the persons of princes prove dangerous companions when, in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams, they are invested with the power of realising their own prognostications ! " (*Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. 2, cap. xiv.).

[2] *Fighting Ascetics*, p. 8.

[3] The passage from the *Bījak* of Kabir is quoted in full, pp. 8-9.

[4] Farquhar, *Organisation of the Sannyāsīs of the Vedānta*, p. 485.

Farquhar to make clear the meaning of this distinction, and incidentally to supply an approximate date for the arming of the Sannyāsīs.

What appears to be an authentic tradition declares that in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) a famous Sannyāsī scholar of Benares, Madhusūdana by name, belonging to the Sarasvatī sub-order, approached the Emperor with a request that his order be permitted to take suitable measures for its own defence. It was proposed that " twice-born " non-Brahmans (that is, men of the warrior and mercantile castes) should now be enrolled as fighting Sannyāsīs. The Emperor is said to have given his consent. In confirmation of this bit of unwritten history is the fact already mentioned, that in North India to-day only three (three and a half, to be exact) of the ten sub-orders of Sannyāsīs are designated " pure ", i.e. as consisting entirely of Brahmans. In the South, which the movement hardly touched, all the sub-orders are " pure ".[1]

Dr. Farquhar dates the arming of the Sannyāsīs from about 1565. It may even have begun earlier. The habit of carrying weapons in self-defence may have grown to such an extent that it was deemed advisable to obtain the Emperor's sanction before the right to do so was challenged.

Hardly had the Sannyāsīs got permission to bear arms than dissensions broke out among them. History relates that, when in camp at Thaneswar in 1567, Akbar witnessed with keen enjoyment an armed encounter between members of the Giri and Purī sub-orders, and even sent some of his own men to aid the weaker side.

The armed Sannyāsīs were generally known as Gosāīṅs (*Goswāmī*, ' lord of cattle ', a name applied to various types of ascetic),[2] and also as Dasnāmīs, members of the ' order of ten names '. Other more general titles were Atīt (destitute), Swāmī

[1] " The saying, still common in the North, that three and a half sub-orders are pure, refers to the fact that when Madhusūdana introduced non-Brahmans into the seven groups, one half of the Brahman membership of the Bharati sub-order would not have anything to do with the defilement, and, in consequence, went South to Sringeri and were incorporated into the pure Bharati sub-order there. Thus, half the Bharati sub-order of the North retained its purity " (*Organisation of the Sannyāsīs*, p. 486).

[2] The spiritual heads of the Vallabhāchārya sect are also called Gosains.

(master), and Mahāpurusha (dignitary or saint). In violation of the rules of their order, they accepted money, and also (like the Yogis) indulged freely in the use of flesh and intoxicating liquors. Unlike the Sannyāsī proper, they were keen partisans of the god Śiva, and sworn enemies of the worshippers of Vishṇu. Tradition tells of two notorious Gosain leaders who had taken a vow to slay two Vairāgīs (Vaishṇava ascetics) daily before tasting food. When unable to achieve their purpose their custom was to make clay models of their foes, affix the appropriate sect-mark, and destroy them in effigy. This was believed to result in the death of the victim.

There is good reason to believe that it was the violence suffered at the hands of their brother ascetics, the Yogis and Sannyāsīs, quite as much as Muslim persecution, that led to the arming in large numbers of the third main group of Hindu devotees, the Vishṇu-worshipping sects, whose members were generally designated Bairāgīs (*vairāgī*, one who has subdued his passions). It is not easy to fix a precise date, but the event cannot have been much later than the arming of the Sannyāsīs. One incident in their history might tempt us to put it a good deal earlier. This was the apparently forcible expulsion of the Yogis, under their leader Tārā Nāth, from the Galtā, a sacred bathing pool in a narrow gorge to the east of the modern city of Jaipur, in the reign of Prithivī Rāj of Amber (1502-1527). As spiritual advisers of the rulers of Amber (the ancient capital of Jaipur) the Yogis had long held a strong position at the Galta. At the period mentioned, a body of Vaishnava ascetics, led by the far-famed saint Krishnadās Payahārī, succeeded in ousting their rivals and taking permanent possession of the Galtā. Whether the weapons of their warfare were entirely spiritual may well be doubted. The legendary tales of the miraculous feats by which Payahārī and his following frustrated the murderous designs of their Yogi adversaries suggest that, if not yet fully armed, the Bairagis were at least capable of meeting force with force. It is significant that the combatant (*lashkarī*) section of the Rāmānandīs, which long held the undisputed leadership of the fighting Bairagis, dates its existence as a separate organisation from this period. It was not till well on into the following century,

however, that the Bairagis began to come into prominence as a formidable army.

Throughout the reign of Akbar and his two immediate successors, nothing further is heard of armed Yogīs, Sannyāsīs, or Bairāgīs, but it would be a mistake to conclude that they were entirely quiescent. The vigilance of the authorities no doubt placed a check on overt hostilities, but the alacrity with which they took the field in response to the challenge thrown down by Aurangzeb suggests long practice in the handling of arms. The period was marked by a growing estrangement between the Hindu populace and its Muslim rulers. Almost within a year of Akbar's death the arming of the Sikhs, in consequence of the execution of Guru Arjun, began. The imprisonment of Guru Hargovind checked the movement for a time, but the preparation of the Sikhs for an open breach with the Mogul power went on. Finally, on the execution, in 1675, of Guru Tegh Bahādur on account of his refusal to embrace Islam, the Sikhs, led by their Tenth Guru, received the " baptism of the sword " and virtually declared war on the Mogul Empire. To the same period belongs the revolt of the obscure sect of the Satnāmīs at Narnaul, in Patiālā, and their virtual extermination after fierce resistance. Hundreds of temples were razed, and their images destroyed.

Sannyāsīs and Bairāgīs, despite their mutual enmity, were wholly at one with the disciples of Guru Govind in their bitter hatred of Muslim rule, and in their readiness to seize every opportunity of setting its authority at defiance. While the aged Emperor was becoming ever more deeply involved in his disastrous wars in the South, we find several noted Bairagi leaders moving in full military array, without let or hindrance, about the northern country.[1] It may be safely assumed that the Sannyāsīs

[1] There is in possession of the head of the Balanand temple at Jaipur what purports to be an original order or passport issued by the Emperor Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) in the 35th year of his reign (A.D. 1692), authorising five Bairagis, whose names are given, " to move freely about the whole Empire with standards and kettledrums, at the head of companies both of horse and foot ", and enjoining local governors, police officers, and landholders, " that no obstacle or hindrance be put in their way, so that they may travel without molestation from one province to another ".

Whether or not the document be genuine—and such forged permits were not unknown—it affords convincing evidence of the military pretensions of the Bairagis at this time.

were pursuing a similar course in other provinces of the Empire. In presence of their powerful rivals the armed Yogis were already beginning to take a second place. Enriched with the spoils of earlier conquests and secure in their fortified temples and monasteries, they seem to have played a minor part, as actual combatants at least, in the later wars.

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 organised persecution came to an end. But this change brought no corresponding reduction in the warlike activities of the Hindu ascetic orders. By this time the militant movement had begun to lose even the semblance of a religious war. The existence of so mighty a host of professional warriors, called into being for a special purpose, and required to maintain itself by means of forced levies on the populace, inevitably led to violence and pillage on an extensive scale. The prevailing disorder was highly favourable to the designs of the monastic militants. Strong bands of naked warriors ravaged the country, striking terror to the hearts of the inhabitants. No longer united against a common foe, their arms were turned against one another.

Of the fighting orders the Sannyāsīs were by far the most numerous, as well as the most aggressive. Not only the " twice-born ", but bravoes of all ranks and classes, seem to have flocked to their standard. There were continual armed clashes between the Sannyāsīs and the Bairāgīs, frequently over the policing of the great religious fairs, and the collection of pilgrim dues. For a time the Bairagis were generally worsted in these conflicts. It is related that while a company of the latter were performing their ablutions in the Siprā river at Ujjain they were suddenly overwhelmed by a deadly rain of arrows from the Gosain fort or monastery of Bhairoṅgaṛh overlooking the river. It is said to have been the brutal murder, while on a peaceful journey, of a trusted Rāmānandī leader that led to the final mustering of the Bairagi forces at the Galtā to concert measures of defence. Under the able leadership of Bālānand, a Rajput from the Delhi district, the " Four Sampradāyas ",[1] as they were called—the Rāmānandīs,

[1] Known as the Śrī Sampradāya (Rāmānandī), the Brahmā Sampradāya (Mādhva), the Rudra Sampradāya (Vishnusvāmī), and the Sanakādi Sampradāya (Nīmbārka). The Vishnusvāmīs were later almost entirely absorbed into the

the Mādhvas, the Vishnusvāmīs, and the Nīmbārkas—were welded into a strong confederacy which for the first time was able to meet the Dasnāmīs on something like equal terms.

The Bairagis were divided, irrespective of sect, into seven sections, each attached to a separate *akhārā* or monastic settlement, its military headquarters, presided over by a *mahant* or abbot, who was recognised as its military leader. Members of each Sampradāya continued to use their own sect-mark, worshipped their own special deity (*ishṭa-devatā*), and retained their connexion with their own temple (*dwārā*, door); but for defensive purposes they belonged "body and soul" to their respective *akhārās*.[1] The seven *akharas* later became sixteen, of which the Rāmānandīs had seven, the Nīmbārkas seven, the Mādhvas one, and the Vishnusvāmīs one.

An interesting survival of the old military organisation may still be seen at the great religious fair known as the Kumbh Mela. Ascetics attending the fair encamp, not as one would expect with members of their own Sampradāya or sub-order, but with a mixed company of various denominations historically associated with the same *akhara* as themselves.

Among the fighting Bairagis, caste-distinctions were put aside, and members of the various groups shared a common mess. This relaxation of caste-rules extended only to actual combatants. The Bairagis were nominally vegetarians, but this rule was also largely disregarded. Free use was likewise made of hemp, opium, and other narcotics.

Early in the reign of Sawai Jai Singh, the founder of Jaipur city (1699-1743), we discover a strong body of armed Rāmānandīs (henceforth known as "Balanandis") permanently established in

newer sect of the Vallabhāchāryas (Gokulāstha Sampradāya), with which, despite doctrinal differences, they were closely associated. It was at the Vallabhacharya temple at Nāthdwārā that, in 1779, Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur met the body of armed Vishnusvāmīs who later entered his service as mercenaries.

[1] The word *akhārā* came to be used simply as a convenient designation of the military group to which the ascetic warrior belonged. Thus a man would describe himself as a "Nirvānī" of the Nīmbārka Sampradāya, for example, and give his proper *dwara*, and *guru*. The titles of the *akharas* were Nirvānī, Digambara, Nirmoī, Khākī, Mālādhārī, Santokhī and Niralambī.

The Dasnamis had also their seven *akharas*, Nirvānī, Aṭal, Niranjanī, etc., embracing in each members of the different sub-orders of Sannyāsīs.

a small fort [1] at the base of the Nahargarh hill which forms the city's northern boundary. To the last the advantage of numbers remained with the Sannyāsīs, but it was not until near the close of the eighteenth century, and then only as hired mercenaries, that they were able to secure a footing in the Rajput States.

Sannyāsīs were to be found in great numbers in Bundelkhand and other outlying districts of the Mogul Empire. Of the Sannyāsī hordes that infested Bengal in the days of Warren Hastings we are told that they " often numbered several thousand in each band, and at one time no less than five Sepoy regiments were engaged in hunting them down ".[2] Hastings' own description [3] of these " Senassies, the gipsies of Hindostan ", leaves no doubt of their identity.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century the monastic militant movement, which began as a measure of self-protection, and later developed into sheer brigandage, had already entered on its third and last phase, that of professional military service. From the first the tendency had been for the big confederacies to break up, and for each band of ascetic warriors to follow where fortune beckoned. The ceaseless wars of the time provided unlimited scope for their energies. The Rajput kingdoms especially, torn by internal dissensions, and bled white by endless exactions, stood in constant need of military reinforcements to aid them in their desperate struggle. Jealous of their independence and impatient of military discipline, the armed ascetics clung obstinately to their own methods of warfare, and to the last refused to enlist in the regular armies.[4] But many were only too ready to exchange the precarious life of the irresponsible freebooter for steady employment with some ruling prince or military adventurer who was willing to engage them as irregular troops on their own terms. The usual pay of such mercenaries at this time was only half an anna a day, but it need hardly be said that this was the smallest part of their earnings.

[1] Still known as the " temple of Balanand ".

[2] *Oxford History of India*, p. 516.

[3] Quoted by Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-516.

[4] In the Great War of 1914-1918 a body of Dādūpanthī Nāgās offered their services to the Government of India, but as they refused to enlist as regular soldiers in the army their offer was refused.

Students of Maratha history are familiar with the name of Himmat Bahādur, the famous Gosain leader, who with a body of fighting ascetics entered the service of Mahādājī Sindhiā, and at a later date aided the British in the conquest of Bundelkhand. Himmat Bahadur had his headquarters at Jhansi. Broughton, in his *Letters from a Mahratta Camp*,[1] gives an interesting account of a grand-disciple of this famous warrior, Kamptā Giri by name, who with a strength of 1500, mostly horse, joined the camp of Daulat Rao Sindhia in Rajputana in 1809. After Himmat Bahadur's breach with Sindhia, many of the Gosain fighters he had brought with him remained in the service of the latter. Mahādaji Sindhia was the first of the Maratha leaders to employ Sannyāsīs in large numbers as soldiers.

Grant Duff [2] mentions a strong force of Gosains in the service of Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawāb Vazīr of Oudh. This gives a clue to the identity of " five thousand fanatics, all perfectly naked, and covered with paint and ashes ", described by Colonel Malleson [3] in his account of the Nawab Vazir's assault on the British lines at Patna in 1764. It will be noted that the " fanaticism " of these Hindu ascetics did not prevent their taking service with the Muhammadan ruler of Oudh.

In his account of the battle of Pāṭan, in Rajputana, in 1790, Count de Boigne, who was then in the service of Sindhia, mentions [4] as among the forces of the Jodhpur and Jaipur allies " 5000 *Fakirs*, called *Brakys* and *Attyles* ". The term " faqīr " is often loosely used for Hindu as well as Muslim ascetics, to whom it more correctly applies. The " *Brakys* " can of course only be " Bairāgīs ", and the " *Attyles* " must be " Atīt ", a term often used of Sannyāsīs—either de Boigne or his translator having omitted to stroke his third " t " !

Maratha incursions introduced great numbers of armed Sannyāsīs into Rajputana, and many finally took service with Rajput rulers. In 1779 a large company of Gosains from Karauli, who had espoused the cause of a pretender to the Udaipur throne,

[1] Pp. 96, 106, 148. [2] *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i, p. 514.

[3] *Decisive Battles of India*, pp. 201-202 (2nd edn.).

[4] In a letter quoted by Compton in *European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, pp. 51-54. The letter was probably written in French and translated into English for the *Calcutta Gazette*.

and later transferred their allegiance to the legitimate ruler, entered the service of Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur. The same year a body of Bishanswamis (Vishnusvāmīs) also entered the Jodhpur service. Thus we find Sannyāsīs and Bairāgīs, once sworn enemies, fighting cheerfully side by side, and often winning high distinction, in the armies of Bijay Singh and his successors. Rana Bhim Singh of Udaipur employed considerable numbers of Sannyāsīs in his last struggle with Holkar and Sindhia, till the State passed under British protection in 1817.

From Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* [1] we learn that, in the days of Jaswant Rao Holkar's incursions into Mewar (Udaipur), Damodra, then high-priest of the famous Vallabhāchārya shrine at Nathdwara, " made the tour of his diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. . . . He rode the best mares in the country, and was summoned to matins by the kettledrum instead of the bell and cymbal." The force mentioned appears to have been placed at his service by the Rana of Udaipur. But there would seem to be no record of the votaries of Nathji having taken to arms in any considerable numbers.[2]

As regards the Yogis, the present writer has been told by modern representatives of the order that the Yogi, in later times at least, seldom chose to serve as a professional soldier, not from lack of courage, but through fear of injury to his *mudras* or earrings, the loss of which was looked upon as an irreparable disaster. He preferred diplomacy and intrigue to open warfare. Be this as it may, the Yogis of Eklingjī in Udaipur State, and of Mahāmandir in Jodhpur, were always ready to put up a stout resistance to any assailant, Muslim or Hindu. Some distinguished themselves as leaders of considerable bodies of armed men, both hired mercenaries, and ascetic warriors of their own or other persuasions. Of the spiritual head of Mahamandir, the famous Nath fortress on the outskirts of Jodhpur, at the beginning of last century, Colonel Tod wrote : [3] " The high-priest of Jalandranath used to appear at the head of a cavalcade more

[1] Vol. i, p. 476.

[2] The reputed fighting ascetics associated with Nathdwara were probably Vishnusvāmīs, who visited this shrine.

[3] *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i, pp. 477, 445.

numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar." "In Mewar (Udaipur)," he says, "they can always muster many hundreds of the Kanfera (Kanphata) Jogis, or 'split-eared' ascetics." Many of the surviving Yogi temples and monasteries throughout Rajputana more closely resemble miniature fortresses than places of worship and meditation.

In Jaipur, the Śrī Sampradāya of the Rāmānandīs [1] maintained its ascendency to the last. The Nīmbārkas, their only serious rivals, established themselves at Salīmābād, in Kishangarh State, on the borders of Jaipur and Ajmer. The Rāmānandīs never entered the service of the State, and seem to have fought mostly for their own hand. They acquired much valuable land, which their successors still hold, and from which the Balanand temple derives a very large revenue.

As, with the advance of British power in the opening decades of last century, the sphere of their operations became more circumscribed, both the Rāmānandīs and the Nīmbārkas showed a growing disposition to withdraw from the struggle, and leave the field in possession of lesser bodies which had more recently taken to arms. It is not necessary to burden our narrative with an account of these, whose members were for the most part merely professional soldiers in the service of the State. The Rādhāvallabhīs, for example, joined the ranks of the Nīmbārkas; the followers of Chaitanya (called "Gauriya") fought under the standard of the Madhvas. The Dādūpanthīs, disciples of the sixteenth-century reformer Dadu, at first fought along with the Rāmānandīs. Later, when they were powerful enough to maintain their own establishment, they set up their independent *akḥaras* after the Bairagi model. Some 7000 Dādūpanthīs were kept almost constantly employed by Maharaja Pratāp Singh of Jaipur and his successor, in suppressing revolt, and collecting revenue. Their wealth rapidly grew, and they began to do a

[1] In North India the Śrī Sampradāya is much confounded with the older Śrī Vaishṇava Sampradāya of the South, probably on account of so many temples of the latter being now in possession of the Rāmānandīs. The Śrī Sampradāya worships only Sita and Rama, with their attendants; the Śrī Vaishṇava Sampradāya acknowledges all the incarnations of Vishṇu, with their consorts. Some famous old Śrī Vaishṇava temples, like that at Pushkar, near Ajmer, repudiate any connexion with the Śrī Sampradāya.

large business as tax-farmers and money-lenders, and were able to pay down very large sums in cash to meet the demands of an ever-exhausted State Treasury.

Among the fighting ascetics mentioned by Tod as taking part in the Rajputana wars in the beginning of last century were Sikhs, Nānakpanthīs (a variety of Sikh, distinct from the Akali), and also a class of Muslim ascetics called Aligols, who are thus described by Broughton : [1]

" The Aleegols are bodies of irregular foot, armed according to the fancy of each individual, and without any sort of discipline. They consist principally (*sic*) of Mussalmans, and have acquired the name from their habit of charging the enemy in a *gol* or mass, and invoking the aid of Alee in their onset. Their pay is trifling, but they are allowed to plunder at discretion."

The generic name for this whole class of ascetic warriors was " Nāgā ",[2] from the Sanskrit word *nagna*, meaning " naked ". The Nagas were so called from their custom of going into battle naked, or with only a strip of cloth bound round the loins. They wore their beards parted in the middle and brushed up over the cheeks, to add to the fierceness of their appearance. Their bodies were smeared with ashes, and their foreheads and limbs painted with their respective sect-marks. Their weapons were the bow and arrow (later replaced by the matchlock), the shield, the spear, and the murderous " discus "—the last worn, one above the other, like a ruff round the neck. Other weapons were a short sword or dagger ; the " rocket ", a kind of glorified jumping cracker composed of a strong metal cylinder to which knives were attached ; and the " umbrella ", consisting of a circle of iron balls suspended from a central rod, like a maypole, which when skilfully handled was said to be as impenetrable as a coat of mail, in addition to being a deadly weapon of offence. When the Naga was clothed, it was in the customary yellow robe of the religious mendicant, fastened skirt-wise about the waist, with the free end passing over the chest and shoulders in such a way as to leave the fighting arm entirely free.

The Nagas, as already indicated, made free use of bhang,

[1] *Letters from a Marhatta Camp*, p. 50.

[2] To be distinguished from the Naga tribes of the hill country of Assam, though the origin of the name is the same. See *The Naked Nagas*, Dr. Christoph von Fürer-Hamendorf (Methuen).

opium, and intoxicating liquors. When going into action their progress was less of a march than a kind of whirling dance, during which they became wrought up to a pitch of uncontrollable excitement. Then, with ear-piercing yells, they rushed upon the enemy. Their frightsome appearance, and the superstitious terror with which they were regarded, contributed not a little to the success of their arms. In addition to being excellent swordsmen the Nagas were also skilled wrestlers, always eager to get to hand-to-hand grips with their antagonists. Their bodies were kept hard by severe physical exercises.

With the establishment of the Pax Britannica in the beginning of last century, the fighting bands gradually melted away. But for many years, especially in the Maratha country, roving companies of ascetic warriors might still be seen travelling from place to place extorting supplies in the name of charity. Gosains were frequently employed as spies, and as secret assassins.[1]

The last of the professional Nagas to disappear were those who had found permanent employment in the Indian States, and who in some instances were too strong to be summarily dismissed. Sannyāsīs and Vishnusvāmīs continued in the service of Jodhpur State for close upon a century, when they were finally disbanded by Maharaja Jaswant Singh in 1875. Many tributes were paid to their faithfulness, and to their fine fighting qualities. Until a few years ago Jaipur maintained an establishment of (nominally) 5500 Nagas, mostly Dādūpanthīs. The remainder were Nīmāwats (Nimbarka) and Rādhāvallabhīs. The Dādūpanthīs rendered good service in the Mutiny. Colonel Eden, then Political Agent at Jaipur, speaks [2] in the highest terms of

[1] " Under a weak or unsettled government," says Grant Duff, writing in 1826, " The Gosaeens and Byragees have both been guilty of dreadful outrages on the persons and properties of the inoffensive part of the community ; but the former are more notorious in this respect than the latter. They used to travel in armed parties, and under pretence of seeking charity, levied contributions on the country. Where unsuccessfully resisted, they frequently plundered, murdered, and committed the most brutal enormities " (*History of the Marhattas*, vol. i, p. 17). Cf. Sir Bartle Frere's picture of the Gossein-wara at Poona (Introduction to *Pandurang Hari*, p. ix), and Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, p. 592 (note). Also the writings of Meadows Taylor.

[2] In an unpublished letter in possession of the Udaipur (Shaikhawati) Clan of Dādūpanthīs, of which the writer has a copy.

the staunch loyalty of a body of Dādūpanthīs who formed part of the field force sent with him towards Delhi in 1857. In later years, the Dādūpanthī Nagas assisted in the work of tax-collecting, but have now been disbanded.

Until a quarter of a century ago, armed ascetics—Sannyāsīs, Dādūpanthīs and Vishnusvāmīs—were still employed in Kotah and Bundi States. Descendants of the old fighting Sannyāsīs still guard the palace gate at Udaipur.

But these picturesque relics of a bygone age represent but an infinitesimal fraction of the vast army of fighting ascetics. What became of the others? Some without family ties no doubt found it possible to pass the remainder of their days in the peaceful sanctuary of some Naga *āshram* or monastery. Others found employment as temple priests and attendants. But for the great majority the two-fold problem of caste and livelihood remained. Under Hindu caste law, not to speak of the rules of his order, the return of the disbanded Naga to his original caste was, on the face of it, out of the question. By what subtle alchemy was this vast horde of nominal devotees so completely re-integrated into the Hindu social structure that, to the superficial observer, hardly a trace of them survives to-day?

In the light of modern analogies it may be said with some confidence that, in many instances, the apparently impossible thing was precisely what happened. There is a saying current in Marwar that "the man who smears his body with ashes can wash it clean again, but the man who has his ears pierced (that is, becomes a Yogi) is a Yogi all his days". Evidently the thing had been done, and could be done again. The pilgrim or adventurer of whom all trace had been lost returned to his town or village, and quietly resumed his life in the caste-community to which he originally belonged.

On the other hand it has to be recognised that for multitudes born and bred within the Naga community, as for multitudes born within the mendicant classes to-day, there was literally no "caste" to which they could return. They were Nagas by birth, as well as by profession. And in any case, whatever might be the fate of individuals, the wholesale reinstatement of tens of thousands of sometime Naga warriors in their respective castes

was a sheer impossibility. For the ordinary Naga, this way of escape was firmly closed.

Long before the close of the fighting period the caste and marriage problem had indeed begun to solve itself. Around the various Naga encampments began to spring up groups of "Sannyāsī" and "Bairāgī" families who had as yet no place in the Hindu caste-community.[1] In course of time the main fighting orders were numerically strong enough to form matrimonial alliances among themselves, and sufficiently influential to invite the Brahmanical blessing on marriages that would normally have been regarded as a grave breach of caste-law. Towards the end of the wars many of the military leaders had in fact already married and settled down as agriculturalists, merchants, and money-lenders, on the lands they had seized, or had received as a reward for their services. Some of these, especially in the Rajput States, rose to high positions of trust and honour, and founded families of good social standing.

Of the rank and file, large numbers followed the example of their chiefs, settled down as "householders", and took to trading and agriculture. In this way there gradually came into being a whole group of new caste-communities, each bearing as its family name the designation of the religious sect or order from which it sprang. Thus, for example, over a large part of northern and central India will be found clans of Giris, Puris, Bharatis, etc., belonging to the "Sannyāsī", "Swami", or "Gosain" caste, whose patronymic declares their descent from the old fighting Sannyāsīs. The "born" Sannyāsī is described in Rajputana as "*bind*", in contradistinction to the "*nad*", or initiate. The former have to-day, like other Hindu castes, their own rigid laws of consanguinity in marriage. For instance, a member of the Giri clan may marry a Bharati or a Puri, but not another Giri.

There is also a numerous "Bairāgī", or "Vaishnava" caste, with various ramifications which it is unnecessary here to trace.

[1] Their celibate vows rested very lightly on the shoulders of the great bulk of the warrior ascetics. Some were already married men, with families, when they enrolled themselves.

Exactly as in the case of the Sannyāsīs, marriage alliances were formed between members of the several Vishṇu-worshipping sects. The " Bishanswamis " intermarried with " Rāmāwats " and " Nīmāwats " (descendants of the Rāmānandī and Nīmbarka fighting ascetics), but not within their own clan.[1] The non-combatant lay members of these sects had of course no share in such marriages, and continued to observe the rules of their respective castes.

Similarly, there is now a distinct " Yogi " caste. On coming of age the male members of the community are still often invested with the sacred *mudra*, or ear-rings, though some prefer to dispense with this painful ceremony. The present head of the Naths, or Yogis, of Marwar, known as the " Aishjī ", still enjoys some of the privileges conferred in perpetuity on his illustrious ancestor Deonath by Maharaja Man Singh over a century ago. But the Yogi community as a whole is in rather a reduced state. Many support themselves by begging, while others work as day labourers.

The well-to-do landowners, merchants, traders, bankers, lawyers, doctors, and public servants who claim descent from Naga leaders of standing and repute may be regarded as the aristocracy of the movement, and hold an honourable place in the life of the Hindu community to-day. Another stratum is represented by those who, in one form or another, have endeavoured to preserve their character of religious devotees. The mendicant Rāmānandī, for example, clad in a brilliant red costume, with his begging sacks swung like a pair of large scales from a stout bamboo pole laid across his shoulders, may still be seen marching, to the accompaniment of jangling bells, through the streets of Jaipur and other Rajput capitals. The well-to-do Yogi of the mendicant class specialises in the treatment of certain ailments, chiefly of women and children, by means of drugs, charms, and incantations. In many villages is to be found a resident Yogi who, in addition to the daily dole, receives from each cultivator at harvest time a fixed quota of

[1] The Vishnusvāmīs have almost ceased to exist as a separate community, but have left a numerous posterity. The Jodhpur census for 1921 showed 10,634 " Bishanswamis " in the State, of whom 5479 were males, and 5155 females.

grain as a retaining fee. Others have a circle of villages which they visit once a year, drawing large crowds by their dramatic performances, and sometimes reducing their whole audience to tears by their moving recital of the experiences of an ancient king of Ujjain who forsook throne and family to become a Yogi. At Kotah the writer recently saw an encampment of several hundred Gosains, in commodious modern tents, well provided with horses and camels and other means of transport. At intervals, they marched out in procession, headed by their naked and ash-smeared leader mounted on an elephant, in a manner strongly reminiscent of the old fighting days as described by contemporary writers. Several months of each year are thus spent on pilgrimage to Hardwar, Benares, and other holy places, the expenses of the journey being defrayed by the offerings of pious votaries. These prosperous "pilgrims" are generally attached to one of the larger Naga monasteries scattered over Central and North-Western India.

But while, in the manner described, many of the Naga warriors and their descendants found their way back to the fold of caste-Hinduism, and while others, adhering to their traditional rôle of religious mendicants, secured for themselves a position that enabled them to maintain themselves in comparative comfort and respectability, there were many more who, irrevocably cut off from their caste-environment, and with no training or aptitude for a life of social usefulness, remained permanently stranded, a standing menace to social order and progress. For these, the only career that lay open was that of professional beggars of the least reputable type. If this was true of the first generation of unemployed and unemployable Nagas, it was still more sadly true of their often numerous progeny. For generations there has been growing up, as a late aftermath of the eighteenth-century wars, a vast and almost illiterate community of professional beggars, bound by no social ties, restrained by no social sanctions, enthralled by birth and environment to a life of idleness, fraud, and often shameless immorality. These form by far the greater proportion of the wandering mendicants to be seen all over North India to-day, travelling without tickets or at the expense of their fellow-passengers on its railways, haunting its places of pilgrimage,

and begging from door to door, with blessings and imprecations, through its cities and villages.

The modern representative of the fighting Naga no longer goes naked, as a rule, except on the occasion of the great religious fairs like the Kumbh Mela, when he marches in procession with other members of his order. Apart from a knife sometimes concealed in the folds of his yellow robe he is seldom armed, but a glance at the implements of his trade is not without interest: the hefty club or bamboo pole—a relic of the *bhālā* or lance of former days—and the sword-like pair of tongs, frequently weighted, obviously suited for other purposes than the gentle stirring of ashes at the time of the frugal meal. The Muslim faqir, it may be remarked in passing, with his calabash slung at his side, and in his hand a battle-axe, often of excellent workmanship, is still a common sight at Ajmer, at the time of the Khwaja Sahib's fair. But even among Gosains, the bamboo shaft with a polished steel head is not uncommon.

Ask one of these roving mendicants to what class he belongs, and he will proudly describe himself as a Puri, a Giri, or a Bharati Sannyāsī; or his conspicuous sect-mark will declare that he claims connexion with one of the great historic Sampradāyas of the Vishṇu cult. Of initiation into these venerable orders he knows nothing, beyond having served his apprenticeship with some "Baba" or father, who has instructed him in the rudiments of his profession. Born within the begging community, he leads a gipsy life, wandering from place to place in company with one or two of his kind—not unfrequently members of his own family—soliciting alms.

Into this polluted stream of professional mendicancy has continued to pour fresh contamination from a variety of sources. For the corruption of the best is the worst, and it is a notorious fact that the yellow robe of the ascetic has ever been a favourite refuge of the fugitive from justice. Social effort, slowly awakening to the needs of the depressed classes in India, has as yet barely touched this dark underworld of ignorance, misery, and crime.

# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PSYCHOLOGISTS.[1]

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"WHO will guard the guards" is quoted glibly enough, in many contexts, yet the question "Who will psychologise psychologists"? is seldom asked. Seeing no reason why the behaviour and motives of psychologists should not be studied as if they were ordinary people going about their business, I select for study some prominent directions in which psychology is now proceeding, attempt to relate them to modern social and economic conditions, and discuss whether psychology is now heading in directions along which it is likely to benefit humanity.

Let us assume that psychology can be defined as the positive science of experience and behaviour. Those who hold that only the objective study of behaviour is scientific may be reminded that some descriptive word must be found for the description and explanation of the facts of experience. I care little whether that word be 'psychology', so long as the study is pursued, for, except in the opinion of extreme behaviourists, experience is important. For example, there are many heart-searchings about the partial failure of the Government's scheme for removing school-children from districts threatened by air-raids. Some of the difficulties are economic, but most of them are psychological. Moreover, economic forces act upon peoples' experience, and are matter for psychology. Even when the behaviour of children or of parents has been exemplary, their home-sickness or feelings of inferiority can be studied best by direct questioning.

However psychology be defined, it ought not to exclude the direct examination of human experience. Now, since the

[1] Amplified from the notes of a lecture given at the John Rylands Library on the 16th November, 1939.

psychologist himself behaves towards his physical and social environment in a characteristic way, and thus satisfies certain desires wholly or partly, consciously or unconsciously, a psychology of psychologists is conceivable.

The satisfaction of wants, including the want to study psychology, is achieved in ways which depend not only upon the individual's history, but also upon his economic circumstances, and upon his particular niche in the society which supports him. For, as Professor J. D. Bernal points out in *The Social Function of Science*,[1] scientists have lost their amateur status. Most psychologists nowadays are completely professionalised; a fact which inevitably influences the directions along which their science is developing. Study of the sociological setting of psychologists' activities therefore promises valuable results, for the development of all the sciences has greatly depended upon the idiosyncrasies of prominent workers, and upon the economic and social encouragement they succeeded in winning.[2]

Our first problems are: What special qualities of personality and character, acting in conjunction with special opportunities, cause some people to become (*a*) psychologists, (*b*) psychologists of a particular kind?

Nobody can state, from purely theoretical considerations, the elementary wants which are satisfied by the study of psychology. The investigator must work backwards from the facts obtainable concerning the lives of psychologists. Such data may be direct accounts of experience, as in the *History of Psychology in Autobiography*;[3] they may have been collected and regarded from a particular aspect, as in R. C. Oldfield's "Some Factors in the Genesis of Interest in Psychology",[4] or may be culled from *The Letters of William James*[5] or *The Thought and Character of William James*.[6] A questionnaire might also be sent to present-day psychologists willing to answer very intimate inquiries.

[1] 1939, London, Routledge.

[2] Cf. *Lord Rutherford*, by A. S. Eve, 1939, London.

[3] Edited by Carl Murchison, vols. i, ii, iii, 1930, 1932, 1936, Oxford University Press.

[4] *British Journal of Psychology*, xxx, 2, 1939, pp. 109-123.

[5] Edited by Henry James, 2 vols., 1920, London, Longmans Green.

[6] By R. B. Perry, 2 vols., 1935, Oxford University Press.

To discover in a short time fundamental motives for becoming a psychologist may be impossible. It would have been easier when most psychologists were quasi-amateurs. However, when reading modern accounts of psychology, let us bear in mind that some people may have become psychologists not only because they were scientifically interested in human beings but because they liked them.

Almost certainly the person whose attitude towards the world is predominantly extraverted, is unlikely to be attracted by psychology so strongly that he will desert or lose interest in other studies. And many a psychologist will probably admit that the early attraction of this study was the light which it cast upon some trait of his own which he had hitherto regarded as peculiar or puzzling. Attitude-type, in Jung's sense of the term, therefore is a valuable concept in our study.

This thought inevitably suggests the study of a contrast between more or less introverted psychologists, and the question whether a behaviourist, where he is naturally of this way of thinking and has not adopted it as a protective coloration, is just an extremely extraverted psychologist.

Perhaps psychologists may eventually be differentiated by some such set of divisions as Spranger makes in his theory of predominant values. We may be able to recognise the one-sided theoretical, aesthetic, economic, religious, political, and social psychologist.

Oldfield points out, with examples, how often the decision to become a psychologist has been the result of conflict between interests, a conflict which the eventual study of psychology was able to resolve. These fights seemed to centre round the respective claims of ' natural science ' (in the conventional sense of that word) religion, philosophy, and history. The new interest in psychology offered a compromise and a reconciliation, allowing the tendencies harmonious expression in unified activity upon a single field of material.

Pierre Janet's conflict was between a taste for natural science (botany in particular), " dissection, precise observation, and classification ", and a religious mystical tendency never wholly controlled. This confession may throw light upon the elegant analysis of minds which one sees in his writings.

Oldfield writes :

> William James's conflicts of interests and difficulties of vocational decision, aggravated by a superbly delicate moral sensibility, are too numerous and complex for brief record to do them justice. One quotation must suffice to illustrate the intensity of the doubts to which he was subject. He writes in 1868, at the age of 26 : " I have not got started properly on any line of work yet, but am hovering and dipping about the portals of psychology. The fact is that I am about as little fitted by nature to be a worker in science of any sort as anyone can be, and yet . . . my only ideal of life is a scientific life." But later in the same letter he decides that " All in all, even the sweepings of morality are better than chemical reactions," and adds, " Thus do I lash my tail and start myself up again. . . ."

Oldfield postulates two specific interest-tendencies, the empiric and the systemic. The empiric is a propensity to treat material in its aspect of relating to experimental fact ; the systemic, a propensity to treat material in its aspect of possessing internal structure. Not only does psychology satisfy both these tendencies in some people, but the conflict observable in a few living psychologists may be between attempts to satisfy these tendencies equally. Possibly these may be leanings towards extraversion and introversion respectively.

He shows that among psychologists proper, and even among those whose contributions to the subject have been mainly philosophical, there is a ' somewhat surprising ' prevalence of scientific interests. Examples are Bain, Fechner, Lloyd Morgan, Dréver, William James, McDougall, C. S. Myers, Ward, Lotze, Frobes, Titchener, Stanley Hall, Stumpf, and Woodworth. The existence of scientific, often co-existing with philosophical, interests is interpreted as the manifestation of an empiric interest-tendency.

Strong interest in mathematics appears to be a less common occurrence in the budding psychologists, so far as the printed records of their lives show. " In only one or two cases is mathematical interest so strong, or ability so great, that the individual considered finding an academic vocation in this subject."

Not surprisingly, philosophical interests played a great part in the early lives of those psychologists old enough to have had their biographies recorded. For until very recent years, psychology was approached through, and regarded by many as a branch of philosophy.

" It is reasonable to interpret the maintenance of such interests, concurrently with other pursuits, as evidence of the operation of some general systemic interest tendency."

Of religious tendencies Oldfield writes :

There can be no denial of the fact that the content of religious knowledge and experience may in itself suggest problems of psychological import. But it may be that this fact does not exhaust the possible connexions between religion and psychology. Religious teaching frequently provides for the growing child the first body of more or less coherent psychological material. It offers admirable opportunity for the working of the systemic interest-tendency, as any casual study of children's theological systems will show. I will suggest that early religious interests afford evidence of the operation of the systemic interest-tendency, later to find a nicer balance with the empiric in becoming directed upon the problems of ' man and his mental life '. In this suggestion there is, of course, no implication that all early religious interests are the product of the systemic tendency, or that it alone can ever be effective in their production.

I wish now to ask the question " Is Psychology becoming less human ? " It is conceivable that people who first choose, and then succeed in an occupation, do so because they have an unusual liking for the material with which they deal. Yet it would be naïve to suppose that all zoologists love animals, all teachers love children, or that all bacteriologists love bacilli. Perhaps, the suggestion that some psychologists are ' shy ' will not seem far-fetched. Extensions of this idea, however, may need explanation.

In his urbane summary of *A Hundred Years of Psychology*,[1] Professor J. C. Flügel, illustrating Dr. Alfred Adler's belief that one's original inferiority in some respect may be converted into a superiority by constant exercise and effort, remarks :

as when Demosthenes, the stammerer, became one of the greatest of orators, when Sandow, the weakling boy, became a recognised strong man of his day, or again, when a person gifted with exceptionally little insight into the thoughts and motives of his fellows compensates by becoming a psychologist.

Knowing many psychologists, including Professor Flügel, I take his remark seriously. Not all psychologists like human beings more than anything else, or handle them unusually well. This raises some important questions. Are shy psychologists common ? Is their number increasing ? If so, how will this influence the theoretical and practical development of the study ?



[1] London, Gerald Howe.

Many psychologists, as we have remarked, like people in general. Others, however, are introverted or class-conscious, and some psychologists who are psychotherapists, regard the human mind as a conglomeration of catastrophes. Pained and disapproving, they write as if it seldom shows tenderness, self-sacrifice, aesthetic sensibility, charm, or humour. Since, however, they see these aspects of personality less often than unlovable ones, we may pardon their pessimism. A dentist is often jolly, yet some psycho-analysts assert proudly that their own relationships with patients are impersonal and neutral. One might comment that tuners of damaged pianos may be forgiven if they forget about Beethoven and Debussy, Schnabel and Horowitz, but we seldom look to the instrument-repairer for musical criticism. It is only fair to add that some psychotherapists leave the normal mind severely alone.

It is interesting to consider the degree of aloofness with which, in any one instance, a psychologist can justifiably view his material. Detachment seems desirable in some branches of child psychology. Adoring parents seldom assess their infant's mental development in comparison with that of a thousand children of similar age, sex, and environment. Recent accounts of children's early mental life lay almost exclusive stress upon their behaviour, comparing it with established norms. Yet detachment, though it could be maintained in observing the whole cycle of human development from birth to maturity, is unprofitable when sentiments and complexes influence the behaviour of the person studied. At the moment, for example, American and English psychologists can observe the difficulties of refugee-adolescents who try to adjust themselves to a new culture-pattern. An account of their behaviour with no attempt to discover its underlying sentiments would be arid, even stupid.

In remarking that some psychologists like people, it is recognised that a few may love their fellow-men too much to judge them impersonally. Yet some forms of psychological judgment —perhaps all—are impracticable without sympathy, since the psychologist's task is to observe minutely and describe accurately as well as to explain satisfactorily. To-day, for excellent reasons, psychologists are often immigrants from the older sciences.

They may bring with them some attitudes common in these studies, including a distaste for intimate personal acquaintance. Connected with this fact, perhaps, is the claim that the study of mathematics purges the mind of sentimentality—even if it implants a sentiment for mathematics.

A laboratory may be an ideal refuge for thinkers whose affection for human beings is subnormal. Some researchers particularly enjoy working on public holidays, when all ' ordinary ' scientists are away. Since the building's freedom from human distractions implies a corresponding increase in laboratory resources ; who, it may be asked, would not choose to work then ? Quite a number. I think—and I have spent twenty-five years among scientific laboratory workers in this country and others—that there are often deep-lying psychological reasons for the unsociable ones' pleasure in solitude, and for the disdain which they may feel for the ordinary holiday-maker.

This aversion sometimes appears in another form. In 1916, Mr. Wilfred Trotter wrote of Freud's system :

> However much one may be impressed by the greatness of the edifice which Freud has built up and by the soundness of his architecture, one can scarcely fail, on coming into it from the bracing atmosphere of the biological sciences, to be oppressed by the odour of humanity with which it is pervaded.[1]

While accepting the metaphor with a slight demur (for there is a biology of the tropical swamp, and some of the bracing effects biologists feel may arise from quarrels about the origin of life or the inheritance of acquired characteristics) one may comment that a discourse upon life which excludes consideration of human experience is evidently incomplete. About the odour of humanity—*de gustibus*. . . . There are people—mothers for instance—who like some human odours, and prefer them to the scents which scientists may send in aeroplanes to mothers in other countries. If in the last fifty years a few thousand scientists had conquered their distaste for the smell of humanity, instead of presenting the world with its present war-weapons, we should be better off to-day.

Unsociable youths may leap at a chance to study man from the eyrie—or the ivory tower—of a laboratory, instead of face to

[1] *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, 1916, London, Fisher Unwin.

face in the real world, where they might be expected to show enthusiasm or sympathy, even to risk making fools of themselves in the eyes of austere scientists. It has even been suggested that one force causing some people to study non-human material is a desire to avoid having to show affection to or even to bother with human beings, and this line of argument would turn the tables on the *soi-disant* ' anti-sentimental ' scientist.

Let us broadly contrast some ' human ' directions of psychological activity with others. First come all those impressions of, or judgments about, other people which involve actual confrontation. Upon what kinds of data do we base our conclusions ? Upon a first, or a later general impression, upon our immediate reaction to the other person's total behaviour, including subtle manifestations, change of facial colour, nervous twitches, ' accessory movements ' and the like. They are not comparable with the pointer-readings at which many scientists aim, but people who can interpret signs of personality will not apologise for that. At any moment, all over the world, millions of important personality-judgments, based upon observation of facial expression and of nuances in speech, are being made. Some psychologists try to study such judgments scientifically, to discover their bases, to determine their validity and reliability. Such investigations have many pitfalls, and fear of them may be the reason why there are few workers in this field.

When meeting someone for the first time you may ' see ' him or her as beautiful, conceited, or vulgar. The judgment, however, may be more characteristic of you than of the average person in your own community. You may have strong racial, national or personal prejudices about beauty, or be a victim of the insinuations of a film-star's publicity agent. You may have a mother-complex or a feeling of inferiority towards an upper-class, and of superiority towards a lower-class, way of speaking. Indeed, a judgment about personality may tell us much about the judge as well as about the person judged, especially in a socially-stratified country, or in one where racial or colour prejudices are powerful and widespread.

From this fact certain conclusions have been drawn. A comfortable one is that since beauty is assumed to be in the eye

of the beholder, it cannot be scientifically studied. This may be an honest belief or merely result from the habit of dodging difficult, important problems by claiming absolution from an undefined authority called 'Science'. Another inference is possible. If a high percentage of the members of a certain community make the same judgment (as when thousands of people think X, an actress, to be beautiful, or Y, a member of a certain race, to be unattractive) it is psychologically real, for its economic, legal, and social implications are often serious, not only for the individual but for thousands like him. We see the importance of this reality in Central Europe to-day. The separation of almost purely individual judgments from those which are almost ubiquitous is a psychological task, and techniques for it are being worked out.[1]

In this study of personality, investigators who are unafraid of human beings will presumably be happy. Not a few 'shy' psychologists, however, work at this subject, as mathematical computers or markers of printed forms. They need never meet the people whose personalities they examine. Is their contribution less weighty because of this? Cannot they serve valuably behind the fighting-lines? Only, I think, in subordinate capacities, doing clerical or mathematical work, arising out of researches directed by psychologists in contact with the people studied. Otherwise, there may grow up dangerous non-human techniques of psychology, excusing the investigator from meeting human beings, but allowing him instead to interview unembarrassing sheets of paper. In this way, misleading maps of the mind will be constructed by absentees who, perhaps, are ignorant of flooded areas. People who, highly intelligent as judged by the usual tests, find it hard to get on with others, may for this reason prefer measuring the sensitivity of hundreds of 'subjects' to a geometrical-optical illusion, to studying shyness or clumsiness. Mental tests can be given to groups of examinees by one whose attitude resembles that of the pre-war sergeant-major, insensitive to subtle mental differences between individuals. Many of these tests were actually developed and used in army conditions, which

[1] Cf. G. W. Allport, *Personality, a Psychological Interpretation*, 1937, London, Constable.

justified large-scale, high-speed work, and a certain absence of analytic criticism, yet a little of this war atmosphere seems to have clung to the technique of group-testing up to the present time.

What does the ordinary educated man hope that psychology will eventually achieve? He believes that psychologists will throw light upon human behaviour-relationships. To do this requires study of the impact of personalities, of the nature of attractiveness, charm, wit, and humour, of various kinds of friendship, as well as of sexual and parental desire, of repulsiveness, distrust, and hatred. The main efforts of psychologists, however, are not in fact turned in these directions to-day.

The very nature of interests offers urgently important problems, since propaganda can manufacture or stifle enthusiasms in a way and at a rate which the last generation would have thought impossible. Some psychologists are cataloguing the interests of different people, and ascertaining the ages at which typical ones arise 'naturally'. At the moment, however, their apparently unnatural rise is puzzling. Recently, after hearing a psychological address on the average interests of English adolescents, I reflected sadly upon the young Germans who have taken such a keen interest in the wielding of rubber truncheons upon old, defenceless people.

To drop for a moment the detached terms of the psychologist, the stupidity and wickedness of civilised people most urgently need investigation. Some natural scientists may quieten their consciences by believing that it is the psychologists' duty to tackle the job, and perhaps they are right. If so, a visit to a psychological congress might disappoint them. They would hear discussions of sensation, perception, memory, thinking, behaviour, skill, and of the application of results obtained in these fields to practical questions of industry, education, and medicine. They might hear much about intelligence, but it would often be the kind of intelligence characterising those human beings who have invented the diabolical toys before which civilised nations shiver in fear. They would hear about the attempted analysis of the mind into 'factors'. They might find a section of social psychology, though more of its discussions, I think, would be about

broad questions of group-relationships than about social adjustments between single personalities, or about the influence of single personalities upon nations.

Interesting as these subjects might be to the visitors, only a few of the reported investigations might seem likely to advance the study of personalities, their clashes and their harmonious adjustments. If a psychologist were to hear the scientists express disappointment, his reply, couched in their language, might be to ask for patience, since the 'factors' discussed are supposed to exist not in one mind but in the mind-in-general. Eventually, but not yet, they may be gathered up into formulæ which would 'prescribe' the intellectual, emotional, and volitional make-up of vivid personalities, like, let us say, Queen Elizabeth, Wagner, if they were living; and of Charlie Chaplin. A flaw in this argument, however, can be exhibited by examining the last-named personality. Of late, Chaplin's films have appeared so infrequently, that, at least in England, children unfamiliar with his technique and allusions sometimes do not think him funny. When the 'same' personality is judged as 'very funny' and 'not funny', a stiff problem is presented to factor-analysers. Consider the changed attitude towards W. S. Gilbert's puns and his persistent gibes at unmarried women. To many people the puns are boring and the gibes tasteless.

A personality, therefore, may simultaneously be described by antonyms. In contrast, chemists have discovered no substances which are simultaneously very acid and not acid. This fact need not disconcert the psychologist, for analogies in the outer world can be found. A substance is hard or heavy, a man tall or short, only in comparison with something or someone else; even if the quality in question is absolutely measurable. But though the technique of factor-analysis may now be adequate for handling numerical data, one doubts whether in this branch of study the fact that it takes two to make a personality-judgment has been sufficiently respected.

Perhaps these new attempts at 'personalistics' are merely techniques of climbing towards the peak at which everyone is aiming—the description and explanation of Personality and Character. At present, however, these methods seem to head

away from this goal. The détours may eventually be justified, but how do the factor-analysers propose to get back?

In his desire to admit as few complexities as possible into his observations, the scientist narrows the scope of his inquiry. He works, for example, with a point-source of light or sound of a single wave-length. Sometimes the psychologist copies this procedure with advantage, but he may be tempted to do this to the detriment of his observations. He may, also, fall into the bad habit of omitting data which would not impress the physicist. For example, while many of the psychologist's data are percepts, awarenesses of actual objects present to the senses; many more, fulfilling identical functions, are images. At the moment of writing, a visual image of my watch tells me that it is about time for the radio news-bulletin. Since I saw the watch a few minutes ago, this observation does not appear to be exciting, yet its commonplaceness may obscure its psychological significance. Not only the percept or image, the peg upon which the experience is hung, but also its interpretation is important. In this example, the fact that this particular watch keeps almost perfect time imparts to a glance at it a feeling of confidence. This clearly does not depend upon physical events causing the sight of the watch, for I have never seen its works. Consequently the aspect of the watch which might seem to the physicist the real one, is in this example the least important.

Can we, however, transform our interpretation of this experience into a form which a physicist would approve? I doubt it. Much has been written about 'stimulus' producing 'response', and 'situation' producing 'behaviour'. Yet when these formulæ fit the events, if indeed they ever do, they are of the simplest kind; 'slot-machine' examples, so to speak. Sometimes the behaviour when perceived leaves no doubt as to the meaning of a situation. Insult a man, and he knocks you down. So the text-book example might run. Yet does this event happen frequently in ordinary life? More often, you say something which annoys him; his colour changes, his lips tighten, his voice alters in tone, and his words are 'sung' on as unusual speech-melody. His answer may even be "Thank you very much". A written record of it might suggest gratitude. Heard

with understanding, the words mean hatred or sarcasm, but only to one who belongs to the same culture-pattern. Most foreigners in England find the language easy to read, difficult to speak and hear, yet only those with delicate ears realise that English speech-melodies are often hard to discriminate, and harder still to copy.

If one is to live happily in a civilised country, *sympathetic interpretation* of others' speech and general behaviour is necessary. Stress is laid here upon this fact because it is usually avoided by the behaviourist. Let us illustrate this. It is, let us say, a fine Sunday. One neighbour mows his lawn in his worst clothes ; another, in his best, departs in a car as loud to the eye as to the ear. You may hardly notice these actions if they express the neighbours' mental peculiarities with which you are familiar. But the reversal of their rôles would surprise, and if you are psychologically inclined, puzzle you. Your interpretation of the behaviour is at least as important as your observation of it.

A bare account of the movements of a man's limbs and trunk may interest a physiologist, but means little to a psychologist, unless he regards them as *expressive* movement. For example, it is easy to appreciate the different degrees of psychological interest offered by a word deliberately spoken to convey an order, and by a grunt emitted by someone unexpectedly ' winded '. In all psychological observation some degree of interpretation is necessary. For this reason, any aim at pure objectivity in psychology is likely to fail.

An abstract style of writing enables some psychologists to achieve a flight from reality. The desire for this may be prompted by their sentiments and complexes ; a subject which needs more analytical study. Yet this direct line of investigation is less popular than the search for purely objective data about sentiments and complexes, by using ' attitude-scales ', printed forms upon which the subject indicates the relative intensity with which he likes or dislikes a thing, person, or institution. Other psychologists devise experimental settings of their problems. Quantitative measurement is thus possible ; an improvement when the set-up does not keep the ' subject ' of the experiment at arm's length, metaphorically as well as literally. Least satisfactory is the absentee psychologist who directs his investigation by remote

control. In his study he performs mathematical calculations upon data sent by his agents, who may have obtained them on printed forms. Though this procedure reduces the odour of humanity, it seems open to the charge of ' escapism '.

Contrasted with these are psychologists who seek the face-to-face interviews ; social workers, investigators of juvenile delinquency, vocational advisers, and ethnologists. The attitude of these researchers towards their theme and the nature of the results they obtain are indubitably human. These students are usually ready to record their technique, so far as it can be done verbally, for the guidance of others. In *How to Interview*,[1] W. v. D. Bingham and B. V. Moore have described such work in detail. Other aspects of it are treated in *The Study of Society*.[2]

The type of psychologist who obviously specialises in the interview is the psychotherapist. His activities may seem to be the most human work in the world. He talks with people in trouble or disgrace, he is admitted to their confidence, and at times he saves souls. The intimacy of his knowledge of other people cannot be doubted. All psychologists would be the better for a training in the establishment of such close social relationships. Yet, if we wish to know how a psychotherapist works, short of actual eaves-dropping, we are usually limited to reading his written statements. These seldom give a good idea of his methods, even if he has the talents of a first-class playwright, novelist, and anthropologist. He may, indeed, be swayed by motives which discourage overtness. One is the desire for secrecy. To report satisfactorily an interesting recent case would require so many references to living people, especially to the patient's relatives and friends, that the task is seldom attempted. Moreover, no technical method can yet reproduce at a reasonable cost the actual speeches of the doctor and patient over long periods. Even if this becomes financially possible, the speeches would be worth recording only if the patient were unaware that what he was saying was being preserved.

The doctor, therefore, usually writes a summary from his notes. Since in therapeutic conversations few facts are noted in

[1] New York, Harper & Brothers.

[2] Edited by F. C. Bartlett and others, 1939, London, Kegan Paul.

the patient's presence, the summary must be based chiefly upon the doctor's memory. Consequently the choice of the items omitted or elaborated is influenced by his own complexes. Even the writing down of a 'key' sentence which (with some reservations) we may believe to have been recalled accurately, gives only the conventional representation of the sounds spoken, with no hint of the patient's facial and postural expression, his intonation, speech-melody, and other imponderables which may have influenced the doctor's decision.[1] Moreover, a busy man, writing for readers who want inferences and conclusions, is tempted to 'telescope' his data. Since, like most psychotherapists, he earns his living in competition with others, he may have little time or incentive to develop the best possible method of expounding his technique verbally. Ultimately, of course, some judgments of a first-class psychiatrist may be comparable to an expert's detection of a forged 'old master' or a taster's classification of a wine. Perhaps we shall never have a description of these latter performances in verbal or chemical terms. Yet even if in our present pattern of society, at the expense of much time and trouble, the average psychiatrist could communicate the basis for his judgments, there are many reasons why he will not be encouraged to try. It must not be forgotten, too, that subtle interpreters of speech, facial expression, and gesture may be artists, with no desire to write about the subject. Here, as elsewhere, art conceals art.

Some work in this field could be cited as partial evidence against these assertions. But since the last war the factors described above have led to a progressive encapsulation of the medical psychologist's activities; a fact to be deplored by scientists. A contributory factor may have been the depersonalisation of psychological methods in certain directions and the tendency of many psychologists to 'leave the medicals to do their job'. What would happen, however, to scientific medicine if all physiologists, anatomists, and physicists took this point of view?

It might seem that to people whose chief interest is in human

[1] Cf. T. H. Pear, *The Psychology of Conversation*, chapter v, 1939, London, Nelson.

beings, almost anything written about them would be interesting. This, however, seems scarcely true, for some would be very tired by a few hours' reading of certain sociological journals. For this, there may be several reasons. One, perhaps, is the modern fashion of writing abstractly, and of eschewing concrete examples, even when they would damage one's case. Another may be the anæmic quality which pervades the style of some 'impersonal' writers on psychology and sociology. The present-day enthusiasm for measurement may partly account for these developments. Yet, though the cardinal dimensions of a beautiful face, body, or house are important from a scientific standpoint, a numerical table which presented them merely as variants from an average, without indicating their very special significance, would make dull reading. There may, indeed, be a modern tendency in sociology and psychology to confuse measurability with significance. Possibly for this reason, Professor Pierre Janet, the doyen of psychotherapists, recently exhorted an internationl congress to remember that psychology is a subtle study.

Like any other ordered programme of investigation, that of the modern psychologists must necessarily be sub-divided. It is nearly as difficult to be 'a' psychologist to-day as to be 'a' physicist. Yet the analogy ought not to mislead us, for in one respect there is a significant difference between physics and psychology. A psychological event is unique. Analytic psychologists may regard it as 'part' of a unitary personal experience, though to phrase it thus, illegitimately creates the part. The part may lose its factual meaning when considered in isolation, both from the total momentary experience, and from the 'past' of the individual experiencer. In this respect, comparison with the study of physical objects would be misleading. Let us assume, for example, that the resistance of a certain filament in a new electric bulb, taken from a box of bulbs guaranteed to be almost identical, is $x$ ohms. If that particular filament had been put into an adjacent bulb, its resistance would have been the same. The physicist can consider resistance in general. If the resistance in an elcctric bulb disappoints expectations, the personality of the bulb is not blamed.

Some psychologists, by procedures resembling factor-analysis,

hope to discover general psychological laws, comparable to physical laws. Yet the 'intelligence' of one child, indicated by I.Q. 130, would lose much of its meaning if, by a miracle, it could be transferred and made to function in the child next door; for children, unlike electric bulbs, are seldom comparable as units. Personality, character, temperament, and factors in the social and material environment seriously affect the ways in which intelligence is allowed to work. I.Q. 130, characterising the schoolboy heir of a rich and cultured lawyer, might function differently if transplanted into the son of a needy burglar. A highly intelligent scientific researcher may adjust himself badly to his fellow-creatures, and some men, 'second-rate' when examined by academic standards, secure and hold important posts by using their social intelligence. It is therefore reasonable to ask any working psychologist whether he believes that the techniques which he espouses will help him better than any others, to understand human beings, or whether he is isolating entities only for purposes of further theoretical study.[1] The answer that he hopes to discover mental laws akin to physical ones, would seem to put the cart before the horse.

Recent writers have portrayed the development of particular scientific studies, relating their peculiarities to their social, cultural, and economic settings. Professor J. D. Bernal has done this in *The Social Functions of Science*. He demonstrates that there is, and always has been, very little 'pure' science; that most scientific work has been performed with utilitarian aims, and that even Leonardo da Vinci wrote flattering letters to royal persons to try to sell his inventions for purposes of war. Does not this throw some light upon modern developments of psychology? If the professor of a science desires a considerable extension of study in some particular direction, he must get a rich man to subsidise a special laboratory, or, if public funds are the only resource, he must obtain the co-operation of colleagues in the senior sciences. Since they are busy men, they will most easily understand and approve investigations which use techniques and apparatus similar to their own. For this there are

[1] Cf. the symposium on factor-analysis by G. H. Thomson, C. Burt, C. E. Spearman, and W. Stephenson, *British Journal of Psychology*, October, 1939.

several possible reasons. First, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Secondly, it often takes a long time for the average researcher in the physical sciences to grasp the psychological point of view, since the whole of his training, to say nothing of his early interests, have led him away from it. Finally, scientists who sit on committees know that, at least in England, grants are easier to obtain for psychological work resembling physics or chemistry, for it may produce results of immediate short-range value, especially when war is believed to be imminent.

Books are obtainable describing the more spectacular—occasionally the more grotesque—ways in which some eminent scientists have differed from the average man, but few writers have shown how, in certain instances, the development of research in a science has depended upon the special desires of a few dominant men. The influence of Rutherford upon physics is a case in point. Thorndike's guidance of much American psychology is well known. The admirable development of experimental psychology has led in certain quarters to what Prinzhorn described as an organised attempt to protect a vested interest, and this is an example of a movement almost universal among professional workers. It would be interesting to speculate upon the extent to which Freud's pattern of psychology is attributable to his race, upbringing, and profession, his early social discouragement, and the fact that he never travelled widely. J. B. Watson's behaviourism is said to have been a youth movement, revolting against the icy reception which his seniors gave to animal psychology. P. E. Vernon has shown that, in 1933, German and American views upon the proper ways to study Personality were poles apart, and that as time went on, the average psychologist in each of these lands tended to recognise the published researches from the other country less and less.[1] Recent events have not decreased this gap, indeed, they have sent to America many of the German psychologists whose outlook was international.

Are modern psychologists afraid to be interesting? I feel compelled to ask whether there is not an almost puritanical tendency

[1] *British Journal of Psychology*, 1933-4, xxiv, pp. 156-177.

nowadays causing many psychologists to avoid studying subjects of undoubted popular interest. This austere aloofness is not the prerogative of psychologists, yet, together with anthropologists and sociologists, they have recently been criticised for neglecting their proper studies. The Institute of Public Opinion in this country, by its very choice of subjects to investigate, and the lively, even noisy, Mass-Observation movement in England suggest that the students of the human mind are fiddling while Rome burns.

In fairness to both sides, it might be pointed out that the day before these lines were written, *The Study of Society* appeared over the names of seventeen of the reproached ones. Yet many of these would readily admit that a large number of important and popularly interesting subjects are barely mentioned in this book.

The meanings attached privately by academic people to the word ' popular ', if examined closely, might explain some of this avoidance. Contempt for the common people is still widespread in many Universities, though not so openly expressed as formerly. A recent interesting book about one of our oldest English Universities expresses it explicitly in many places, and it would be dishonest to pretend that one does not hear it in ordinary conversation. It was even suggested recently as a matter for serious study by a well-known anthropologist.

There is, however, a subtler reason for this avoidance. I think it can be described as a belief that since a subject which interests everybody has no rarity value, he who writes about it will have no honour in his own country. For years everyone has known that millions of people, excluding ourselves, crowd in the summer to Coney Island and to Blackpool, yet a few *de-haut-en-bas* references to this weakness, as an illustration of men's gregarious instinct, were as much as the average social psychologist felt that these phenomena deserved. Recently, an account of Mass-Observation was broadcast in Great Britain, and the usual comment was made (not, perhaps, with complete fairness) that the Universities took no interest in it. A critic in one of our most democratic English newspapers immediately asked who could expect Oxford University researchers to be interested in what a shopgirl said on her holiday at Blackpool. Would

Oxford be interested in an authentic record of what a Greek slave-girl said about her mistress?

Some of the most striking omissions from general treatises on psychology seem to concern just those matters which, to many, make life interesting; for example, fashions and local and social differences in clothing and speaking. Since in some academic circles clothes and speech are stereotyped and taken for granted by the leading people, one could scarcely expect changes in them to be regarded as significant. Again many a social psychologist seems conscientiously to have squeezed all cultural values, charm, wit, and fun out of his raw material before he began work. The films and the radio are two of America's chief interests, and their influence upon the success of fashions is very considerable. The radio may become the chief maker or breaker of the world's peace. Yet, so far, the number of psychologists regarding these as attractive subjects for study is very small. In some towns England's early attempts at organising people for air-raid precautions were made difficult by the social stratification of the inhabitants, but this subject is only beginning to appear in psychology books. Before the Great War, the idea of the inevitability of warfare seems to have been challenged by few psychologists other than William James, and to-day plenty of them seem to get along happily without bothering about such problems.

Enough has possibly been said to make it clear that in the past there have been sociological factors which kept psychologists away from problems of general interest, especially the questions of individual tastes and standards. The reply might be that they differ so much that it is difficult to study them. If so, the answer must be made that since individual differences are a very lofty development of culture, and the degree of their tolerance is a measure of democratic civilisation, they ought to be described and recorded while they still exist. The most urgent problem for psychology, however, is to understand how men get on with each other. For even to-day there are millions of friendly people left in the world.

# NOTES ON LATE MEDIEVAL GERMAN TALES IN PRAISE OF *DOCTA IGNORANTIA*.[1]

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## I.

IN this article I have endeavoured to characterise a 'type' of story which appears to have been extremely popular in Germany at the close of the Middle Ages. Some of the texts discussed have been published; two others, which seem to raise special problems, I have printed below. I wish to emphasise that I have not conducted the thorough investigations which would permit me to say anything final about the 'type'

[1] [I am grateful to the editor of the Bulletin for his kindness in publishing these notes. They are a translation of an article with the title, 'Zu den Gesprächen zwischen Beichtvater und Beichttochter in der erbaulichen Literatur des ausgehenden deutschen Mittelalters', which I wrote, and which was accepted for publication by the editor of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, in the Spring of 1937. The editor promised that the article would finally appear in the fourth number of the 1938 volume of his journal; it never appeared, and now I have withdrawn it, to avoid further delay. To this article I have already referred in my account 'A German Mystic Miscellany, etc.' (cited below as *Miscellany*) in the Bulletin of October, 1938, p. 476, note 2. In § 9 of *Miscellany* I summarised and supplemented the findings of the article, which is here presented in translation. I could wish now that the summary (which was written on the assumption that readers of the Bulletin would not wish to be troubled by cross-references to an article appearing in another, foreign, journal) had been less comprehensive; certain of the following paragraphs will now seem to be repetition of what appeared a year ago, but this is, in the circumstances, unavoidable. I would like to point out (1) that the contents of *Miscellany*, p. 476, note 2, were, in the German version, embodied in a Addendum which is not here reproduced. (2) The erroneous view which, at one time, I held on the origin of the *Priamel* (see below)—the nature of which is indicated, *Miscellany*, p. 480, note 2, was later amended in the German text and does, of course, not occur here. (3) Notes in square brackets are recent additions to my text. For all these complications, my sincere apologies.]

of story, and that my observations even on the special problems raised by the texts which I have myself published are not necessarily accurate. Here, a word of explanation is called for. The texts considered belong, one and all, to popular, even sub-literary, genres ; they are : exempla, various redactions of a mosaic tract, a doggerel didactic poem and a religious ballad ; they are all of unknown authorship, and of roughly the same date—the latter half of the fifteenth century. The methods proper to the examination of such material are those of the folklorist, who will, or should, make no pronouncement even on the contents of a given tale, until he has ascertained and compared all its possible versions ; such methods could not be employed ; yet I have not hesitated to speak of the relative chronology of my texts and occasionally to suggest that one may be derived from the other. My conclusions must, therefore, be considered tentative. In defence I may add that I believe I have consulted a reasonable number of sources, and that I feel that the special problems which I have indicated and attempted to clarify are truly relevant.

The ' type ' of story which I wish to examine has the following basic outline : a Confessor (alternatives are, a hermit, a monk, two monks, a Mother Superior) questions a woman (almost invariably a woman) concerning the nature of her devotions ; the tone of the enquiry is frequently challenging. The devotions described by the person thus questioned are in some cases rather ' works ' but more frequently mystic ' contemplations '—they are usually called ' Übungen ' and, as described, reflect natural piety rather than strict orthodox practice. At the end of the interview the Confessor concludes in the following style : ' Go pray for me, a poor sinner ; your life is more godly than mine ' or, ' With all my learning, I have never reached such perfection '. This type of tale must be familiar to anyone acquainted with the popular mystic literature of the later Middle Ages in Germany. But it is naturally to be found in other contexts : it may well be an evergreen theme in religious writings that a simple layman may, in respect of true piety, excel one in holy orders. Essentially the same story, though the setting may be different, is that of Macarius and the two pious women.[1] Tales of this type are,

[1] Cf. *Miscellany*, p. 478, note 1, and *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xxii, p. 194.

however, so numerous in writings of the fifteenth century in Germany that one is tempted to see in them evidence of widespread anti-clerical views, of the success of the principle of *docta ignorantia*—hardly, however, to point excitedly to *Karsthans* and Hans Sachs' *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren und Schuchmacher* for there is, after all, nothing of the unrest and polemic of the Reformation pamphlet in these simple stories : they were written by nuns in convents.

## 2.

Turning now to specific German versions, we find a close parallel to ' Macarius ' in the story of the two Dominicans and the miller's wife, *Die fromme Müllerin*.[1] More or less of the same type are those in which a hermit, or monk, prays God to show him the person whose life is most pleasing to him, and whom he should emulate—here emphasis is laid on the fact that the enquirer is well versed in theological matters.[2] The prayer is answered ; God guides the monk to such a person, who is discovered to be a beggar or a naked child ; or perhaps a nun whose way of life and devotions have been so unostentatious that she has passed unnoticed amongst her fellows (this latter variant occurs under the title *St. Bernhards Tochter*).[3] The person is interrogated and the questioner concludes with an admission of

[1] Bartsch, *Die altd. Hss. der Univ.-Bibl. in Heidelberg*, i, pp. 232, 350 ; Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germ. Hss. der preuß. Staatsbibl*, iii, p. 77 ; Borchling, *Reisebericht*, iii, p. 102 ; *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, xviii, p. 92 ; *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xiv, p. 118. A close variant, ' Von einem heilgen schiffer ', *ibid.*, xxii, p. 362.

[2] [I believe I interpret Professor Spamer (*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache und Lit.*, xxiv, pp. 403 *sqq.*) correctly, in stating that he considers this group of tales grew up around the real or the legendary Meister Eckehart. In the examples, Pfeiffer, *Deutsche Mystiker*, ii, pp. 623 *sqq.*, the enquirer is *Meister Eckhart* or *ein hôher lesemeister ;* it is possible that the *meister der göttlichen geschrift* in our texts (below) is also Eckehart. See also *Miscellany*, p. 477. It is expected that Professor Spamer will deal with all stories of the type under discussion under the heading, *Die geistliche Hausmagd*, an example of which tale is to be found in MS. Harley 2430, f. 1*a*, Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, ii, 12.]

[3] E.g. Borchling, *Reisebericht*, iii, pp. 30, 52, 158 (' Das Stück findet sich in den Wolfenbüttler Hss. ungemein häufig '—*ibid.*, p. 30) ; Priebsch, *Heilige Regel*, exemplum No. 28 (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xvi).

his own inferiority. The idea embodied in such stories was evidently so familiar that it could take the form of a simple aside : *Ein hoher wiser lesmeister der sach ein vil guotes armes swesterlin vor im gan Do sprach er sol mir nit we tuon das ich so recht gros wisheit und erkantnüsse han. Und ob dis arme mensche mer minne hat zegot denn ich han das es denne got indem himelrich me wirt erkennende denn ich mit aller miner wisheit.*[1]

The aim of this essay is not, however, to record all the possible variations on the basic theme. I wish rather to single out two, for more detailed consideration, which I propose to call ' The Young Woman of Two-and-twenty ' and ' The pious Beguine '.[2]

## 3.

' The Young Woman of Two-and-twenty ' has not previously been published. It occurs in numerous miscellanies of popular mystic writings, in High and Low German regions, until the seventeenth century. My observations on the story are based on the examination of five such manuscript versions ;[3] others, which could not be consulted, are noted below. The character whom, in the general account, we have called the interrogator is here again a Doctor of Divinity (*meister van der gotheit, maister göttlicher geschrifft*). To him there comes a young married woman—whose age is variously given as 21, 22, 51—seeking advice in spiritual matters ; she wishes to know the way to the highest degree of spiritual perfection to which a (mere) woman can attain. The Doctor of Divinity, who is ' wont to be questioned

[1] Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, Basel, 1876, p. 603. [This is, of course, in reality, a summary of the typical Eckehart legend, as Spamer sees it.]

[2] [From p. 123, note 2, it will be clear that Spamer will possibly not consider these as representative as ' Die geistliche Hausmagd ' and the Eckehart legends ; only from a reference to the Berlin MS. oct. 328 (*loc. cit.*, p. 406, end of footnote), do I gather that (one text of) the ' Young Woman of Two-and-twenty ' is known to him ; I find no reference to my exemplum, ' The pious Beguine '. The material under consideration is so extensive that perhaps more than one focal point should be recognised.]

[3] For permission to have photographs made of the four texts in Berlin MSS. I have to thank the Director of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek. For permission to consult the Rylands German MS. 11, and for constant helpfulness, I again wish to thank the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and Dr. F. Taylor.

rather by learned theologians and students than by worldly women', enters reluctantly into conversation with her, and questions her concerning her state, and her devotions (Übungen). She replies that she fulfils her duties as parent and mistress of her household; she has three 'inward' (inwendige) and three 'outward' (auswendige) devotions which, here, are not orthodox 'works' or practices or habits, but mystic 'contemplations'. In the end the theologian concludes, 'For fifty years I have worn the cloth and am called a Doctor of Divinity, but myself never reached such perfection; praise be to God who thus bounteously bestows his grace'. A comparison of the five texts which I was able to consult shows that one must recognise two versions, which I have called A and B, and printed separately.

### The Young Woman of Two-and-Twenty.

#### A.[1]

Eyn meister van der gotheit quam yn eyn stat. Dar quam eyn Junffrauwe van xxii iaren Vnd begerde, den meister an zu sprechen. Do der meister die Junffrowe gesach, Er nam is in vnwerdicheit, dat yme die Junffrauwe zo sprechen

[1] The text of Version A is based on *MS. germ oct* 328, f. 221r-223r (Degering iii, p. 106; 16th cent., Middle Franconian dialect). *Relevant* variants from the following are given below: *MS. germ oct* 120, f. 27v-29v (*ibid.*, p. 50; the MS. contains 16th and 17th cent. Dutch writings; Rubric to the exemplum: *Dit is een deuote leere*); *MS. germ quart* 1584, f. 60r-62r, (Degering, ii, p. 293; 16th cent. Alsatian dialect). The key letters for these three MSS. (of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek) are **a**, **b**, and **c**. (Versions of the story which could not be consulted are referred to in Borchling, *Reisebericht*, i, p. 106, and iii, p. 111; Priebsch, *Deutsche Hss.*, etc., ii, p. 49.) Abbreviations are, in the text above, expanded; *inwendig*, *vßwendig*, *ingetzogen* and *tzuverlais* are written, against the MS., each as one word. The young woman is called vroukē (**b**), frewlin (**c**) and addressed as vroukē (**b**), Jungfrow, frouw (**c**).

3f. *nam — sprechen wolde*] da n. hy dat in groter onwaerdē d. hem dat vroukē sp. w. **b**, das was jm vnmer mit jm zü reden **c**. 4 *meisten*] aller grösten **c**; om hē *vraechdē* **b**, süchten an zü sprechen **c**. 5 seer *onwaerdelikē* **b**, vnwertsamclich **c**. 7 *volk*.] clairheit **a**. 7f. *vnd tzu — warheit* ÷ **a**. 8 *gerne werre* ÷ **c**; *als verre* ÷ **a**; *ffrauwen*] menschen **c**; *vercr.*] vercr. eñ tote comen **b**, komen **c**. 9 *gode* te hebbē **b**. 10 weltlich ere **c**. 13 *mich — gevoget*] mi g. dat toe heeft geuoeget **b**, mir das g. hat zü gef. **c**; *halden*] hadde . . . gesciceket **b**, het **c**. 18 *Die — oeffenunge* ÷ **b**. 20 *ander* ÷ **bc**. 21 *ich beste*] verre als ic alre diepste **b**, ich aller tieffest **c** (cf. l. 39). 21 recht *vngl.* **bc**. 22 vader ind² godheit **b**. 23 ewiger **a**; *geberte*] bereit heeft **bc**; *metdel.* ÷ **b**, jungfreuwlichen **c**. 23f. *Vnd in hatte — gehindert*] Vnd en hette in dås m. *etc.* **a**, vnd wer do von ouch des m. s. nit geh. worden, *after* gewant **c**. 26*in* loutere *rejnē hartē* **b**, einem *r. h.* **c**.

wolde, Want er was is bas gewaen, dat yn die meisten studenten frageden dan sulch frauwe. Do sprach der meister vnwerdenclichen: ‚Frauwe, wat wiltu?' Sÿ antwort oitmodeclichen: ‚O meister! wat hoert eyme tzu oeffenen, der (221v) tzu der aller hoester volkomenheit vnd tzu der aller hoester vnd clairster warheit gerne werre?—als verre als is ffrauwen moegelich ist, tzu vercrigen tzu eyner sicher frunschaff myt gode.' Do sprach der meister: ‚Ffrauwe, was ist uwer staet? Sÿt ir in der ee, Vnd hait ir geut vnd ere der werelt?' ‚Ja here,' sprach sÿe, ‚ich byn in der ee gebunden, Aber in were ich neit dar, Jch en queme neit dar in vmb eyn gulden werelt. Want ich nu dar in byn, so han ich gantzen gelouben, dat mich got dar tzo gevoget vor dat aller beste; Want ich halden myne guet gerne tzu allen goeden dingen, Vnd ich leren myne kynder dogent, Wa ich kan vnd mach.'

Do Sprach der meister: ‚Wat ist dyn oeffenunge?' Sye antwort oetmodenclichen: ‚Here, Jch han drÿ vßwendiger oeffenungen vnd drÿ inwendiger oeffen- (222r) ungen. Die erste vßwendige oeffenunge, die ich alle dage doen, Dat ist, dat ich mych alle dage spiegele in dat werdige leuen vnßers lieuen heren Jhesus Xristus. Ich sye an syne oetmoedicheit vnd sanfftmoedicheit, Vnd syne ander doegeden als ich beste mach. Dan gesyen ich vff mich selber, wie vngelich ich yme byn. Dan gaen ich tzo der ander oeffennungen, vnd syen, wie der vader syn ewiges woert geberte in der reynen metdelichen licham *Marien*. Vnd in hatte die gehorsamheit syns hemelschen vader neit gewest, Vnd in hette er des menschen selicheit neit mede gehindert, Er hette dar gerne dusent iare ynne gewant. Noch lieber wänt er in den reynen hertzen geistlichen dan in syner moder liebe lifflichen. (222v) Die drÿte oeffenunge ist, dat ich mych alle dage baden in den rosenfarwen bloidigen wonden myns lieuen heren Jhesus Xristi. Jch hain tzu yme eyn gantze tzuverlais alles, dat an myr gebricht, dat er dat myt synem liden in myr erfullen sal.'

Do sprach der meister: ‚O guede frauwe, synt das vre vßwendige oeffenunge, So sagen vns auch vmb got die inwendige oeffennunge, die ir alle dage doet. Do sprach sye: ‚Die eirste inwendige oeffennunge, die ich alle dage doen, Dat ist, Dat ich mych alle dage scheiden van allen creaturen, Also dat ich myt keyner creaturen tzu doen in hain tzu der tzÿt, tzu dat der dyenste godes ober alle gedaen ist. Dat ander ist: ich ledigen myn hertze van allen vnnutzen ingetzogen hynderlichen dyngen, (223r) So dat neit hynderlichs enblyue in tuschen gode vnd myner selen. Die drÿte oeffenunge ist: So wanner ich in die kyrche komen, Vnd tzwen fuße rumes kryegen kan, so vereynigen ich mich myt gode, Dat mych duncket, dat dar nyeman en ist dan Got vnd ich alleyne.'

27 After *oeffenunge*, wtwendelic **b**, usserlich **c**. 28 roetuerwigē **b**, ÷ **a**. 29 toeuerlaet **b**, züuersicht **c**; gebristet **c**. 30 *in myr* ÷ **bc**. 31 *oeffeningē* die ghi alle dage doet **bc**. 32 *alle d. doet*] hebt, habent **bc**. 33 *alle dage* ÷ **c**. 35 *tzu dat*] also lang bis **c**. 36 *ingetz.*] vmbtziehenden **c**. 39 *Vnd — kan* ÷ **c**; *so vereynigen — gode*] soe sincke ic mí so diepe in gode **bc**. 42f. *in d. gotheit*] vand² **g. b**, von der götlichen kunst **c**. 43 nyenan **a**; *Vort*] fürbasser **c**. 44 gebeneditet **a**; *can* allē menschē **b**.

Do sprach der meister: ‚O goede frauwe, ir sÿt in dem rechten wege. Jch han die kappe gedragen wail ffunfftzich iare lanck, Vnd heissen eyn meister in der gotheit, aber ich in quam noch nye tzo dieser volkomenheit.' Vort sprach er: ‚Gebenediet sy der here, der syne genade sus myldeclichen geben kan.'

## B.[1]

Ain maister göttlicher geschrifft kam in ain stat. Da kam ain frow von .xxj. jaren vnd fraget nach dem maister. Do der maister die frowen sach, da waß im die frow etwas vnwerd, wan er waß nit gewunlich, dz die frowen nach im fragten. Er wz vil baß gewun, dz die höchsten studenten oder maister nach im fragten, die in der schůl warend. Doch sprach der maister vnwürdiglich: ‚Frow, waß wend ir mein?' Do sprach (103v) die frow gar demütiglichen: ‚Here, da wer ich gern der aller höchsten lütresten volkumesten warhait nächer, als verre es den frölin müglich ist, dz alle ÿre werck nemend ain zügnus vß den freunden Gotes.'

Do sprach der maÿster der göttlichen geschrifft: ‚Frow, was seind eüwer üebung? Hand ir ainen burgere oder ainen ritter?' Do sprach die frow gar demütiglich: ‚Here, ich honn zwon vßwendig üebungen.' Do sprach der meister: ‚Frow, honnd ir kain inwendig üebung?' Do sprach (104r) dz fröwlin: ‚Ia ich here, dreÿ inwendig üebung hon ich.' Do sprach der maÿster: ‚Frow, sagend mir durch Got, was seind eüwer vßwendig üebung.' Do sprach die frow gar demütiklich: ‚Here, die erst vßwendig üebung ist, dz ich mich

[1] Version B is based on *MS. germ oct* 571, f. 103r-107v (Degering, iii, p. 206, 16th cent.). Relevant variants are given from the text in *German MS.* 11 of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, f. 199v-203r (latter half of the 15th cent., Bavarian dialect). To these the key-letters **d** and R are given. Abbreviation signs are expanded only where they have independent value, e.g. *not* the *n*-stroke over *n*; the *er*-hook over *r* is given as *e*. *ú*, *ü* and the *y*-like symbol for *ü* are given uniformly as *ü*.

1 junge *frow* R; li **d**. 3 vnmär R; gewent R. 4 *oder maister* ÷ R. 5 *schůl*] stat R; vnweltliche R. 8 *als verre es den*] wer es dē **d**, als es ainē R; müglicher **d**; ainer R. 9 frēndē **d**, frewn̄ten R. 10 *der g. geschr.* ÷ R. 12f. *Do spr. d. maister — Ia ich here*] vnd R. 14 *hon ich* ÷ R. 16, 40 *gar dem.* ÷ R. 17 *ainest*] offt R; *schaid* ÷ **d**; before *zu tond*, numtz (a form of *niht?*) **d**. 18 *aller* ÷ R; *vff*] vb̄ alles R; verpracht ist R. 20 peleibt R. 24 *dan*] das R; *lib*] maidlichē leichnā R. 25 *Maria* meiner frawē R; *het es* ÷ **d**. 27 *gew.*] gelegen R. 28 *ainem*] ains, aines **d**R; *rainen* ÷ R. 30, 31 jn *sin* R; after *barmh.* vnd in sein senfftmůtikait R; *kan vnd*] chomen R. 33 *des ain*] dā (*corr. from* dz) **d**; zu verloß R. 34 *das*] des R; *dz — gebrist* ÷ R. 35 *leyden* ÷ **d**. 36 *ward*] pegundt R. 38 von *der* R. 41 *meinen kinden*] den meinē R. 44 *sÿ*] wär seÿ (*sic*) R; *nit* ÷ **d**; *leb — allen* ÷ R; schwester u. prüd' R. 46 mein zwen *füß* auf die erd R. 47 *der*] dißer **d**; *Chr. u. ich*] christus **d**, ich R. 48 *maister* göttlicher kunst R. 49 *s. kor kappen*] seiner körper (!) R.; *finfftzig jar* ÷ R. 50 *chan* (*sic* **d**)] bin (P. Part. missing) R. 51 *in — kappen*] mit der grobē fech (!) R. 53 *in, der stat* ÷ R. 53f. *schöwent* — end] schamē sich die jungen frawen die nit anders schmeckent dān flaischlich ding etc.

alltag ainest schaid von allen creaturen, dz ain ougenblick zu tond hat mit keiner creatur also lang biß aller gotz Dienst vff erdtrich volbracht würt. So gon ich zů der andern üebung, Vnd (104v) entledig mein hertz von allen ingezognen bilden vnd von allen vnützen gedencken, dz der kainer belib zwischent mir vnd Got.' Do sprach der maister: , Frow, seint dz eüwer vßwendig üebungen, so sagent mir durch Got, was sind eüwer inwendig üebungen? ' Do sprach dz fröwlin gar demütiglichen: , Here, die erst inwendig üebung ist, dz ich alle (105r) tag siche, wie dan Got der vatter sein ewig wort erhöcht hat in dem künschen lib siner lieben můter *Maria*, da er inn ist gelegen .viiij. monat. Het es die gehorsami seines himelschen vatter nit geton vnd het es des menschen säligkait nit gehindret, er wer lieber darin geweßen taůsent jar dan .viiij. monat. Noch hundert malen lieber wonet er in ainem rainen hertzen gaistlich dan in siner lieben můter leiplich. Die ander üebung (105v) ist, dz ich mich besich in dem spiegel vnd in dem gebenedicten namen meins süssen Heren Jhesu vnd sich sin gerechtigkait vnd sin barmherzigkait, also tieff alß ich imer kan vnd mag. So gonn ich dan zü der dritten üebung vnd bad vnd wäsch mich in den blůtigen roßen farben wunden meines süßen herren, vnd hab des ain gantze zůversicht vnd ain gantzen volkümmen globen: alles das, dz noch mir (106r) gebrist, dz Got der here an mir mit sinen hailigen leÿden erfüllen will.'

Do der maister dz erhort, do ward er bitterlich wainen vnd sprach: , Frow, habend jr ainen man? seind jr in der e? habend jr kind, hand ir güt, hand jr er der welt? ' Da sprach sÿ: , Ja ich here, die ding hon ich alle.' Da sprach der maister: , Sagend mir güte frow, wie mügent jr dz alles thün? ' Da sprach die frow gar demütiglichen: , Gütter here, was schadend mir die ding? Jr sollend (106v) wißen, ich gib meinen kinden ir notturfft vnd züchs vff kainen v̊bermůt; ich thon inen alles, dz inn zů gehört, Got zu ainem lob. Ich thün aůch nit mit meinen knechten noch mit meinen megten alß ob ich frow in dem haůß sÿ: nit anders leb ich mit inen allen den werent wir alle geschwistergit. Wen ich dz alles gethon hon vnd in die kirchen kum vnd ain stätlin gehaben mag, dz als weit ist, dz ich baid füß gesetzen mag, so senck ich mich (107r) also tieff in Gott, dz ich main, dz nÿmand leb in der zit dan Christus vnd ich allain.'

Da sprach der maister: , Frow, jr sind in ainem rechten weg. Bittend Gott für mich armen brüder, der sin kor kappen hat getragen finfftzig jar vnd haist ain maister götlicher kunst, vnd chan noch nie zů der volkumenhait. Ich hab ouch grosse sorg vnd angst, das manger sj geganen in ainer fächinen kor kappen fünfftzig jar nach dem brött, der auch nimer me zů der volkůmen- (107v) hait kumpt., Nun Sehent! dz was nun ain fröwlin in der .e. der stat. Nu schöwent auch jr junckfröwlin, die jr hertz in der welt er vnd güt kerent. Nit mer ist mir wissenlich von dem edlen .e. fröwlin zů schriben, den: ain iegeliche .e. frow besser sich dar ab nach irem höchsten vermügen; dz ist mein rat mit gantzen vertrüwen.

This story, like the works in whose midst it is to be found, is a typical instance of late fifteenth-century popular mystical literature in Germany; it is a product of the period in which

'der Tauler' and 'der Süß' had become generic terms for collections of pious storyettes, sentimental tracts and *Büchlein* dealing with the infinite love of God; it represents mysticism on the decline.[1] We shall therefore not be surprised to discover that, according to the evidence of the textual variants, it appears to be a matter of indifference whether a given devotion is described as being 'inward' or 'outward': of the three 'outward' devotions of text A two appear in B as 'inward' and the third has no rubric; the three 'inward' devotions of A come under the heading 'outward' in B. The devout souls who read such literature would not be versed in the technicalities of speculative mysticism; none of the devotions listed—with the possible exception of church-going—would to them appear to be 'outward', so that the classification of the six in two groups of three must be considered a popular, formal, rather than a logical arrangement.[2] I believe that I can show that the rubrics 'outward' and 'inward devotions' were, in fact, borrowed from a related story in which entirely different 'Übungen' were described. One would like to know what those same pious readers understood by such phrases as, 'bathe oneself in the rose-red wounds of Christ',[3] 'mirror oneself in the blessed name of Christ'. Could even the writer of such lines at this period have explained their meaning? More important than the original sense of such inherited formulations were their sound and associations, the imagery, and the voluptuous thrill which they were still able to provoke. 'The Young Woman of Two-and-twenty' we may label the popular mystical variant of the story-type under discussion; more particularly it reflects the post-Suso sentimental mysticism of the convents.

With this simple tale I propose now to compare a considerably longer work, which has been published and which is quite well known; this is the tract *Swester Katrei, Meister Ekehartes tohter von Strâzburc*,[4] which was long considered to be a work of

[1] [An attempt to assess the literature of 'Mysticism on the decline' positively, see *Miscellany*, §§ 1, 3 and *passim*.]

[2] It is purposeless to speculate on the relative merits of the arrangements in versions A and B, but it would appear that A is the older—B is evidently drawn from some letter or *Büchlein* and has a garbled text.

[3] Cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 604.

[4] Pfeiffer, ii, pp. 448 *sqq*.

Meister Eckehart himself. To anyone who has not recently read *Schwester Katrei*, and who has only its main outline in mind, the ' Young Woman of Two-and-twenty ' will have sounded familiar; he will, intuitively, have recognised the essential affinity of the two works.

3.

*Schwester Katrei* (SK) is not now accepted as a work of Eckehart ; it was composed by a zealous emulator and is, moreover, almost certainly a mosaic tract made up of gleanings from speculative mystic writings. Simon [1] has already shown that certain long digressions—an interpretation of the two loaves and five fishes and a disquisition on faith—were added latest : they do not occur in the earlier MSS. of SK. The rest of the tract comprises (four or) five dialogues between a confessor and his spiritual child (Pfeiffer, ii, p. 452, 11-33 ; 455 (below)-458, 35 ; 460, 35–462, 18 and 463, 15 f., whereby a long and more recent digression, 465, 19–467, 27, splits the fourth into two). It is particularly, but not exclusively, the section 467, 27 *sqq.*, which is recalled by the exemplum. With ll. 6-9 of Text A, above, compare :

Si sprichet , herre, wîsent mich den nêhsten wec zuo mîner êwigen sêlikeit ' (Pfeiffer, ii, p. 456, 1). Er sprach , niht ennim dich des an, ez ist vrouwen niht gegeben ' (*ibid.*, l. 18).

In SK the young woman has already followed the advice of her confessor and had communion with God before he asks her what have been her devotions (' Übungen '), and to what causes she attributes her state of grace. She then describes (467, 27 *sqq.*) ten ' outward ' ' Übungen ' (*ûzzerr übungen*)—which, indeed, deserve the names ' outward ', and ' Übung ', for they describe her mode of life and her dealings with her fellows. He continues, ' Nû hâstû mir geseit von ûzzerr üebunge : nû sage mir von inrer üebunge ' (468, 16 *sqq.*). She describes *one* which she calls ' inward ' : whilst in the state of grace she dwelt in heaven and moved about amongst heavenly beings. The rubrics which we

[1] Otto Simon, *Überlieferung und Handschriftenverhältnis des Traktakes S. K.*, Diss. Halle, 1906. (This work was consulted before the present article was prepared and has not since been available.)

know from the exemplum are here used with some meaning. Commenting on his own unworthiness, the confessor uses the following expressions which resemble those of his counterpart in the simpler tale :

, ach mich armen man, wie mac ich mich sô wol schamen vor den ougen gotes, daz ich sô lange geistlîchen schîn hân gehabt und ich sô wênic bevunden hân götlîcher heimlicheit ' (463, 37-40) ; , wizzet, diz (her state of grace) ist allen menschen fremde, unde wêre ich niht ein solich pfaffe, daz ich ez selber gelesen hête von götlîcher kunst, sô wêre ez mir ouch fremde ' (464, 32-34).

We have, in the exemplum and SK, two almost contemporary versions of the same story of the penitent whose life is more godly than that of her confessor—the naïve and the sophisticated variants. In the latter the basic theme is made the framework for a mass of theological argument. Beside the simple housewife of the exemplum we have the blue-stocking who ousts her confessor in subtle debate, turns the tables on him and becomes his instructor—incidentally ruining the point of the story, which is that a simple woman shall triumph over a competent theologian.

The elaborate trappings of SK were, however, not an adequate disguise ; a number of collectors recognised that it was, fundamentally, of the same stock as such stories as *Die fromme Müllerin* and *St. Bernhards Tochter*, and proceded to reduce it again to its simple basic formula. One such revised version of SK, based in fact on one of the longer texts which Simon has called *Fassung II*, is to be found in the John Rylands German MS. 11, where it immediately precedes ' The Young Woman of Two-and-twenty '. It is thus composed :

(f. 191v-199v) Pfeiffer, ii, p. 467, 27—468, 1 + 468, 5-11, 13-35 + 468, 36—469, 10 + 473, 28-39 + 474, 1-26 + 458, 11-19 + Got ist ain gaist vnd die Jn/an peten musen vnd süllen/an peten jm geist vnd jn der/warheit (*Rubric*) + 449, 35-39 + 461, 10-23 + 462, 12-14 + 465, 29-35 (lebens) + 460, 39—461, 9.

Within the excerpted passages the idiom is simplified and certain mystic metaphors (e.g. ' he came to her in a foreign land ') are given a literal sense. The new version begins with the (fourth or) fifth of the SK dialogues, in which the young woman's ' Übungen ' are discussed. Certain passages from other dialogues are included, in which purification through suffering and the importance of avoiding contact with one's fellows—themes

dealt with in every mystic sermon and tract—are discussed. By main force the five dialogues have here been reduced to one, and the contents popularised and simplified.

The adapter responsible for this version of SK must have recognised the tract's ancestry ; that he or she failed to discover a passage which could easily have been modified to supply the customary conclusion in stories of the same stock (' Go and pray for me, a poor sinner ')—see *Miscellany*, p. 478, note 2. However unsatisfactory the adaptation may be, one cannot but be impressed by the trouble which the writer responsible has taken to recover the simple tale. Other adapters of SK proceeded more rigorously. Spamer, listing MSS. of SK, notes certain versions which transmit only the one dialogue in which ' Übungen ' are discussed. In the Melk MS. 371 in 2°, f. 319$^{rb}$, for instance, the text of Pfeiffer 467, 30—468, 15 is preceded by the simple introductory phrase, *Ein andåchtige Junchfraw ward in hahe volchömenhait tzogen. dý fragt ir peichtuater, was sý am meisten zw irer sölchen sålichait tzogen hiet.*[1] One cannot know more about the SK texts—whether *Fassung I* or *Fassung II*—which were used in these cases.. It is clear that several writers felt that SK called for simplification, and for the removal of accretions.

In an earlier cast of this article I adduced, as evidence to prove that SK had been known in a form considerably shorter than that published by Pfeiffer, a late Middle High German *Priamel* (a doggerel didactic genre, consisting, normally, of a series of precepts) to be found in a Wolfenbüttel MS. (published in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* xiv, as Nr. 609). After a rubric, *Ein peicht vater fragt eyn sel, was sein peicht ḳint, warumb si wer selig worden auf erden*, and the introductory couplet, *Ein beichtvater ain nachtz sas / und fragt ein sel die sein peicht ḳint was*, we find a rhymed version of that same dialogue from SK which deals with the ten ' outward ' and the one ' inward ' ' Übungen '. It seemed to me inconceivable that the *Priamel* should be an adaptation of the tract as I knew it from Pfeiffer. It would now appear that it is merely a rhymed version of the one dialogue,

[1] *Beiträge*, xxxiv, p. 367 (with further references).

and that its immediate source was an excerpt [1] of the type referred to above.

Dependent on SK are therefore the Rylands redaction, the excerpted single passages and, consequently, the *Priamel*—the latter two need not go back to the full-length text edited by Pfeiffer. My reasons for believing that at least the *rubrics* ' inwendige übungen ', ' auswendige übungen ',[2] in the actual dialogue of ' The Young Woman of Two-and-twenty ' are derived from the tract I have summarised in *Miscellany*, pp. 479 *sqq*. The text of SK used by the author of the exemplum may have been an early, simple, or late, simplified form of the tract : the naïve version is dependent on, and later than, the sophisticated one.

4.

I wish now to examine one special variation on the theme common to all the stories under consideration ; I find it in one exemplum, which I have printed below, and in the stanzas 56-91 of a medieval Dutch religious ballad known as the *Beghinchen von Paris*.[3] The person interrogated is, in both cases, a Beguine ; the interrogator is in the one case a village priest (setting : a village church, confession), in the other a Mother Superior (scene : a Beguines' convent). The latter challenges the Beguine and demands to know why she ' goes to church only on the

[1] [I am still convinced that an expert student of the literature of the German Mystics would be able to prove that SK is a mosaic-tract, and that it is, moreover, none too skilfully composed. As it stands, it will not bear close analysis. See, further, *Miscellany*, p. 479, and p. 480, note 2.]

[2] A possible source of the actual formulations given under the rubrics may be such a gnomic compilation of devotions as the following entry seems to indicate : Hildesheim MS. 724*b*, f. 123*a*, Dusse worde sprac broder Hinrick van Loeven. De mensche de godes wil syn, deme behoven to holden ses stucken, der syn dri van buten vnd dri van bynnen, Strauch, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xli, p. 21.

[3] The most convenient text of this poem is in Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte vom Niederrhein*, Hanover, 1854, p. 333 f. Through the good offices of the University Librarian in Copenhagen I was able to consult, in the summer of 1936, R. Segebrecht, *Von dem Beghinchen zu Paris. Vergleichung der überlieferten Fassungen und Herstellung eines kritischen Textes*, Diss. in typescript, Hamburg, 1921. The only emendation in the critical text which is relevant to the present study is noted below.

Sabbath ' / ' never goes to church '. She explains that on Monday she cannot, on Tuesday she cannot—on no day but the Sabbath / not even on the Sabbath—can she go to church, for she is ' busy ' ; the ' business ' of each day is described, and is the contemplation of some phase of Christ's Passion. The interrogator admits that the Beguine's piety is adequate and that her way of life is more pleasing in the eyes of God than that of her critic.

## Von ainer säligen pegeinen.[1]

ES was ains mals ain salige pegein, Vnd die kam jn ain dorff Vnd peichtet ainem priester. Vnd jn andacht sy furtt ain hailig leben, Aber sy gieng jn der gantzen wochen nit zw kirchen den an dem suntag. Da fragt sy der priester, was sy da mit mainte, Das sy nit zw kirchen gieng In der wochen.

Do sprach Sy : , Da han ich (255ᵛ) an dem montag mein gärttlein gegeten.' Do sprach er : , Wie hast du das garttlein gegeten ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich betrachtet alle meine verlorne zeÿtt, Die ich ye verloren han, Das ich mein sele rainige von allen sunden Vnd von allen masen. Dar vm pin ich so vnmussig gewessen, Das ich nit zu der kirchen kumen pin.'

Do sprach der herre : , Was hettest Du an dem erctag [2] tan, das du nit zw der kirchen komen pist ? ' Do sprach sy : , Ich pin zeratt gangen, Vnd han (256ʳ) wetrachtet, wie die Juden vnseren Herren habent verraten.' [3]

Do sprach er : , Was hast du dan an der mitwochen getan ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich flaisch gekaufft.' Do sprach er : , Wie hast dw flaisch kafft ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich betrachtett, wie vnser Herre Jhesus Xristus, das vnschuldig plutt Vnd lämplein, verkafft ist worden von seinem jungeren Judas, das ich nit kunde kumen zw der kirchen.'

Do sprach er : , Was hast dw dan an dem pfindstag getan, das dw nit zw der kirchen kumen pist ? ' (256ᵛ). Do sprach sy :

[1] I have not succeeded in discovering a second text of this exemplum ; it is reproduced here from the John Rylands Germ. MS. 11, f. 225ʳ-258ʳ.

[2] MS. : *erstn̄*. See *Miscellany*, p. 480, note 4.

[3] What answer preceded the allegorical interpretation ? Perhaps, *Do bin ich in dem markt gewessen.*

, Do pin ich jn dem pad gewessen.' Do sprach er : , Wie pist dw jn dem pad gewessen ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich betrachtett Den pluttigen schwaiß, den vnser Herre an dem Ölperg geschwitzet hatt, Vnd pin so vnmussig gewessen mit dem betrachten des leydens vnsers lieben Herren, das ich jm gedanckt han der grossen liebe, die er zw mir gehabt hatt, Das er mich so willigkleich erlost hatt von dem ewigen tod. Vnd do han ich geschwitzett jn der betrachtung, Als war ich (257r) im pad gewesen. Vnd dar vm pin ich so vnmussig gewesen in der wetrachtung, Das ich nicht zw der kirchen komen mocht.'

Do sprach er : , Was tetzt du an dem freytag ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich ainem siechen seines endes gewartt.' Do sprach er : , Wie hast du den ainem gewarttet ? Nu ist doch jn meiner pfar nyemant kranck noch siech gewesen.' Do sprach sy : , Do pin ich vnder dem creutz gestanden jn meiner betrachtung, Vnd pin gestanden pey Maria Vnd han ir geholffen klagen ir kind, (257v) das ich nit mocht zw der kirchen komen.

Do sprach er : , Was hettest dw am samstag tan, do du nit zw der kirchen komen pist ? ' Do sprach sy : , Ich pin pey der grebnüß gewesen, das ich zu der kirchen nicht komen mocht.' Do sprach er : , Pey was grebnuß pist dw gewesen ? ' Do sprach sy : , Do han ich trachtet die wegrebnuß Jhesu Xristi, das ich zw der kirchen nit mocht komen. Nu pin ich an dem suntag zw der kirchen komen.'

Do sprach der herre : , Nu gang hin ; dein leben ist säliger dann das mein. (258r) Ich frag dich furpas nymer war vm du nit zw der kirchen gast xc.'

What is common to the *Beghinchen* stanzas and our exemplum was indicated in the outline given above. The resemblance is so striking that the dependence of the one text on the other seems likely. The sources of the *Beghinchen* is a problem which has not been attacked hitherto.[1] I am encouraged by the fact that the last third of the ballad seems to have its own independent source in a popular allegorical tract, *De speghel denes hertin*,[2]

[1] According to the article on the work in Stammler, *Verfasserlexikon*, i, cols. 183-185, no source is known.

[2] Cf. Borchling, *Reisebericht*, i, p. 258 ; iii, pp. 31, 52, 158.

to advance that the middle section, with which we are now concerned, has its own source, which may well have been a version of our exemplum. The *present differences* between the story according to the exemplum and according to stanzas 56-91 of the *Beghinchen* seem to me to be explainable by reference to the Beguine's pre-history in the ballad version, i.e. to be *consequential modifications* in the latter.

It is said in the Dutch ballad that the Beguine was the daughter of a Parisian family of rank ; that, in order to become a Beguine, she had renounced family, wealth, and worldly honour (Schade, stanzas 1-38). Though she had given the oath of obedience, she now steadfastly refuses to go to Church, to sew and to spin :

> *Jesus hat min herz geraicht*
> *soe vast mit siner minnen,*
> dat ich zo kirchen niet gain enmach
> noch neien noch wirken noch spinnen. (Stanza 48)

The latter couplet embodies the central theme of the ballad, and occurs before the point where the adaptation of the exemplum story begins. The consequential modifications are : (1) The priest of the exemplum had *asked the pegein why she did not* go to church ; the Superior of the ballad, endeavouring to persuade the *Beghinchen* to obedience, *suggests that she should* go to church.[1] (2) The *Beghinchen* can no more go to church on the Sabbath than on any other day. (3) The ' business ' which kept the *pegein* occupied was first described as being a normal worldly activity (' I had to weed my garden ', ' I attended a dying person ', etc.) and then interpreted allegorically. The allegorical statement is dropped in the ballad, because its verbal content would clash with the assertion ' ich . . . enmach noch neien noch wirken noch spinnen '. (The *pegein's* allegorical statement and interpretation would seem—but perhaps my construction is too modern—to recommend a compromise between the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa ;* the *Beghinchen* emulates Mary and

[1] According to Schade's text the Superior suggests for whom, or for what boon, she should pray (stanzas 66, 72, 87). This feature is not to be found in the exemplum, but the couplets in which these suggestions are made are altered in Segebrecht's critical text to *hebdi eene dach begonnen / hi brocht den andern in* (which occurs only in stanza 59 in Schade).

not Martha and the allegory is dropped, in spite of the fact that the ballad contains a good deal of allegory). (4) —— is consequential on 2 : the ' contemplations ' assigned to each day, and which keep the *pegein* ' vnmussig ' and the *Beghinchen* ' unledich ', do not always correspond in the two texts. This is possibly because the exemplum did not provide a ' contemplation ' for the Sabbath—the day on which the *pegein* went to church to confess. It is worth while noting that gnomic compilations of ' contemplations of the Passion, arranged for the days of the week ' or ' arranged for the canonical hours ' are one of the commoner recurring entries in descriptive catalogues of fifteenth-century manuscripts ; the adaptor, having dropped the allegorical figure, would not feel bound to follow his source on this point.[1] The *Beghinchen* stanzas may, therefore, well be an adaptation of the exemplum story.

There my juggling with imponderables must cease. The material discussed raises numerous further questions which I could formulate but which I am not equipped to answer ; there are doubtless many others whose existence I have simply not recognised. If my notes provoke others to publish the material which they consider relevant, and to reassess, if necessary, the value of what I have made known, I shall have achieved my purpose.

[1] Short gnomic compilations of ' contemplations of the Passion ' are necessarily stereotyped : the sequence of the scenes ' contemplated ' is that of the events of the actual Passion Week. There is not absolute uniformity in the selection of scenes and events to be contemplated, however, nor in the allocation of the scenes to given days, for the events of Thursday to Sunday had to provide the material for seven days' or seven hours' contemplations. [I note that certain connected accounts of the Passion have been provided, by copyists, with marginals to indicate what sections should be read at the different hours, e.g. the version in the Cues MS. of *Christi Leiden in einer Vision geschaut* (ed. Priebsch, Heidelberg, 1936).]

# RASHI AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE.[1]

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RABBI SHELOMOH BEN YIÇḤAQ, commonly called by the Jews by juxtaposition of his initials RASHI, and by Christian exegetes of the Old Testament Rabbi Salomon, was born in 1040. In normal circumstances this present year would have seen elaborate commemorations of the nine hundreth anniversary of his birth by the Jews all over the globe, among whom he holds not only a place of honour second to none of their old teachers but is in fact a household word. For traditional education as well as traditional exegesis of the Old Testament has been bound up with the writings of Rashi since they were first copied and then printed unto our own day. And although his chief importance within Judaism consists in Rashi the commentator of the Talmud, his popularity among the masses of devout Jews derives from Rashi the interpreter of the Old Testament. Hundreds of manuscripts of his Commentary on the Old Testament are extant, and the first dated printed Hebrew book is this Commentary, published in 1475. As a Bible commentator Rashi found his way into Mediæval Christian exegesis, into the works of the Hebraists among the Humanists, and into the principal translations of the Old Testament into the Latin and the vernacular tongues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In a study on Don Isaac Abravanel, published in October, 1937, in this BULLETIN, I drew attention in a footnote to Rashi's

[1] I should like to thank the Librarian very much for his encouragement and advice and the facilities offered me to consult the unique collection of English Bibles in the Rylands Library. In no other place would I have been able to complete such a study in so short a time. No less am I indebted to both Mr. Vine and Mr. Taylor for invaluable help in bibliographical matters.

influence on Nicholas of Lyra.[1] It so happens that this year is also the six hundredth anniversary of this Commentator who not only derives his method of literal interpretation, by his own testimony, from Rabbi Salomon, but quotes him so frequently in his own interpretation that the great Johannes Reuchlin hyperbolically wrote that not many pages would remain over if one were to cut out Rashi from Nicholas' *Postillae*. A perusal of three German studies on Rashi's influence on Nicholas of Lyra [2] gave me the idea to examine the *Authorized Version* of the English Bible from the viewpoint of Rashi's exegesis in it. From 1937 onward I paid special attention to passages which reminded me of Rashi. Not until some weeks ago had I concentrated on this problem, and it may not be quite out of place to recount briefly the way followed. For this may lend additional weight to the conclusions drawn from the inquiry. Direct influence of Rashi on any of the translators of the English Bible, from Tindale down to the *Authorized Version*, seemed unlikely at first. Nicholas of Lyra appeared to be the natural intermediary. Beginning with the German studies referred to already,—which are, however, concerned with comment, not with translation—I soon extended my search for parallels over a large part of the Pentateuch and the Earlier and Later Prophets, particularly the more difficult and obscure passages where a translator would obviously have recourse to Jewish exegesis prior to the existence of a reliable dictionary as the result of systematic study of the Hebrew language. In this way parts of *Samuel*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, the whole of *Amos* and *Micah* and a number of *Psalms* were examined. Despite the fact—too often overlooked—that every translation is at the same time interpretation, I did not expect to find too many instances of borrowing from Jewish, in particular Rashi's exegesis. Moreover, a good many borrowings

[1] P. 459, n. 1.

[2] *A. Siegfried*, Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolaus v. Lira und Luther in der Auslegung der Genesis in *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Halle, 1870-71.

*Maschkowsky*, Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolaus von Lira in der Auslegung des Exodus in *Z.A.W.*, 1891-2.

*A. J. Michalski*, dto. der Bücher Leviticus, Numeri und Deuteronomium, in *Z.A.W.*, 1915-16.

go back to St. Jerome's *Vulgate*. St. Jerome often adopts the Aramaic rendering of the *Targum* transmitted to him with Rabbinic interpretations by contemporary Jews. All these passages naturally had to remain outside the scope of our inquiry.

Working from the *Authorized Version* backwards I examined its passages with a Rashi-background in Tindale, Matthew and Coverdale. It became soon evident that neither Nicholas nor Luther, who is commonly held to have influenced Tindale in his translation, could be the source for the English rendering based on Rashi. (Whether Tindale really followed Luther or whether both drew directly from Nicholas in such passages where they agree is a debatable point which deserves careful consideration.) Where could the contact with Jewish exegesis have been effected?

If we remember that Tindale spent many years on the Continent, chiefly in Worms, Marburg and Antwerp, it would only be natural that Jews acquainted him with their own interpretation if he made contact with Jews. The great popularity which Rashi enjoyed as interpreter of Scripture plausibly accounts for the transmission of his exegesis as the accepted Jewish one. Rashi and the Targum were the principal sources for the majority of Jews (and still are to a large extent). Only the more learned among the Jews would consult R. David Qimḥi, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides or Gersonides. In fact, there are among the passages examined by us many which must have accepted the Targumic rendering. All these remain outside our present study. But it must be emphasized that Targum and Rashi are the principal sources of information for the translators from the original Hebrew Old Testament. In this connexion it must not be forgotten that Rashi himself depends to a considerable degree on the Aramaic version. Frequently he puts the Aramaic into his Hebrew, as it were, without acknowledging his source, or at least receives his cue from the Targum.

Yet, even if we could trace individual Jews who supplied Tindale with information, this would in no way explain so many more faithful reproductions of the Hebrew original in the *Authorized Version* not to be found in the earlier English versions. The real turning-point is reached with the *Genevan* and the

*Bishops'* Bibles, but to a large extent already with Coverdale's *Great Bible* of 1539.

We shall return to the *Great Bible* later. Still looking for direct Jewish influence we thought of finding it with no great difficulty in the assumption that the translators of the *Genevan Bible* in the course of their exile had met with Jews whom they consulted for their translation. The problem is, however, complicated through the great influence exerted by Calvin and the Swiss reformers on them. A number of the Bishops and divines who undertook the *Bishops' Bible* had been exiles, mostly in Switzerland, during the reign of Queen Mary. At least two of the principal translators of the *Genevan Bible* must have been good Hebraists. William Whittingham did not return to England with the other reformers at the accession of Queen Elizabeth but supervised the whole work in Geneva.[1] Although there is no definite statement that he knew Hebrew it may be assumed that he would not have undertaken such a task without a knowledge of Hebrew. Of the other, Anthony Gilby,[2] we know that he not only translated Commentaries of Calvin and Theodore Beza but wrote Commentaries of his own on *Micah* and *Malachi*. Unfortunately we were not able to secure copies of these. They would clearly throw light on their author's work as a translator, and at the same time give us an answer to our question: Did Gilby have a direct knowledge of Jewish exegesis?

We fared not much better with the translators of the *Bishops' Bible*. However, the *Zürich Letters*[3] reveal one point of interest for our problem, i.e. the contact of the English reformers with scholars like Bullinger, Bibliander and Wolfius. Bishop Parkhurst praises in letters to John Wolfius the latter's learned commentaries,[4] and Bishop Sandys as well as Parkhurst speak highly of Bullinger's Commentaries.[5] The *Parker Correspondence* which

[1] *D.N.B.*, s.v. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Edited by the *Parker Society*.

[4] Second Series, Camb. 1845, p. 127, on *Kings*, encourages W. to publish his discourses on *Deut.*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, etc. P. 177 praises Comm. on *Nehemiah*; p. 199 urges publication of Comm. on *Esther* and lectures on *Ezra*.

[5] *Zürich Letters*, 1558-76, Camb. 1842. On p. 145 Sandys' letter to Bullinger about the latter's 'very learned Comm. on prophet Daniel', speaks also about copious MS. Comm. on *Genesis* and *Exodus* by Bibliander. R. Hilles writes Bullinger about his homilies on *Isaiah*. Grindal and Parkhurst do likewise, with praise.

we consulted next yielded a most interesting and important result. Among the instructions issued by Archbishop Parker for the translation are two of special relevance to our problem. The first enjoins upon the revisers, whose list with the books allotted to them we find on pp. 334 ff., " to follow the common English translation used in the churches and not to recede from it but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original." [1] And the second rule points to the sources to be consulted for that purpose, in the words : " Item, to use sections and divisions in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Münster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues." Parker himself ' revised ' the books of *Genesis* and *Exodus*.

It is the more astonishing to find Bishop Sandys, one of the translators, taking exception to Münster in his letter to Parker : " The setters forth of this our common translation followed Münster too much, who doubtless was a very negligent man in his doings, and often swerved very much from the Hebrew." Does Sandys mean by " this our common translation " the work upon which the team under Parker, including himself, was engaged or rather the *Genevan Bible* which, however, never received the official sanction of the Church, or perhaps most likely of all, does he refer to Coverdale's revision of Matthew's Bible, known as the *Great Bible*? For was not the *Bishops' Bible* a revision of the *Great Bible*, though, in the words of Dr. Guppy " it shows that good use was made of the ' Genevan Version ', for some of the best and raciest of the notes in the ' Bishops' Version ' are taken from it verbatim, without acknowledgment "? [2] I must leave the decision of this matter to those who can speak with authority on the history of the English Bible. For our problem here it is of little concern since Sebastian Münster appears to have been godfather to the *Great Bible* no less than to its successors.[3] Not only had Coverdale in all

[1] A similar statement is contained in Parker's letter to Queen Elizabeth accompanying the volume of the Bible presented to the Queen (p. 337).

[2] Dr. Henry Guppy : *A Brief Sketch of the History of the Transmission of the Bible down to the Revised English Version* 1881-95, p. 53.

[3] See *Catalogue of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, I, p. 21. It says, " A revision by Coverdale of Matthew's Bible, which he corrected chiefly by the aid of Sebastian Munster's Latin translation of the Hebrew Old Testament."

probability a hand in the *Genevan Version*, but this version betrays without any doubt the influence of Sebastian Münster as well as that of Leo Judae.[1] Anybody who has ever looked closely into the translation of Sebastian Münster must recognise the soundness and wisdom of Archbishop Parker's injunction. Parker, together with Bishop Grindal, can also not have shared the apprehension of the Church against the popular *Genevan Version*, for we find among his Correspondence a letter addressed jointly with Grindal to Sir William Cecil upon the subject of renewal of the licence of John Bodley to reprint the *Genevan Version*. In it they say: "So it is, that we think so well of the first impression, and review of those which have sithence travailed therein, that we wish it would please you to be a mean that [the licence may be renewed]. . . . For, though one other special Bible for the Churches be meant by us to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter will permit: yet shall it nothing hinder, but rather do much good, to have diversity of translations and readings." Surely, a remarkable admission which betrays no mean quality of the chief-editor of the *Bishops' Bible!*

Before discussing the character of the Latin translations of Sebastian Münster, Leo Judae and Santes Pagnino with special consideration for possible and actual influence of Jewish exegesis, we must proceed to glance briefly at the makers of the *Authorized Version*. The information concerning them in Anderson's *The Annals of the English Bible* [2] and the *Dictionary of National Biography* goes back in its bulk to Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. Histories of Oxford and Cambridge University are no more explicit on the attainments of those among the translators who were Regius Professors of Hebrew. The greater number of them, led by the Puritan leader Dr. John Rainolds, to whose initiative at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 we owe the *Authorized Version*, appear to have been noted Hebrew scholars. Some of them are granted with extensive knowledge of cognate Semitic tongues, Chaldaic [which is Aramaic], Syriac and Arabic. It goes without saying that all of them were excellent Classical scholars.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 61. [2] Vol. II, p. 374.

If we single out a few of them it is because we believe that they could best answer our question of who was acquainted with Rabbinic exegesis. Wood informs us that Richard Kilbye, who was Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, wrote a Commentary on the Book of *Exodus*, " the chief part of which is excerpted from the monuments of the Rabbins and *Hebrew* Interpreters." According to the *D.N.B.* Edward Lively, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, left *Annotations to the first five of the Minor Prophets* as well as a Commentary on Peter Martinius' *Hebrew Grammar*. It may well be that among the unpublished manuscripts left by Dr. John Overall, a correspondent of Hugo Grotius, material bearing on our question is to be found. He was for a time Librarian of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, Cambridge. Dr. John Rainolds left *The prophecie of Obadiah opened and applied, etc.*, as well as *Sermons on the Prophecies of Haggai*, " never before printed, being very usefull for these times." Of both we shall speak later, whereas we could not see Kilbye's nor Lively's Commentaries. Of Dr. Miles Smith,—together with Bishop Bilson the final examinator of the whole work,—Wood says : " He ran thro' the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and judiciously noted them in the margin as he went. The Rabbins also, as many as he had, with their glosses and Commentaries, he read and used in their own idiom of Speech. And so conversant he was, and expert in the *Chaldaic*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic*, that he made them as familiar to him, almost, as his own native tongue. *Hebrew* also he had at his fingers-ends." [1]

It would constitute a valuable contribution to the history of Hebrew scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries if light could be thrown on the competence of the translators, chiefly those whose literary remains contain Biblical commentaries and Hebrew Grammars, as for instance Bishop Alley, one of the translators of the *Bishops' Bible*, Gilby (*Genevan*), Kilbye, Lively and Rainolds (*Authorized*). The latter's acquaintance with Rashi is evident from two quotations with which we shall deal later. But another question requires an answer as well, i.e. who were the instructors of these Hebraists and by which books were they guided ? An answer to the last question may

[1] *Athenae*, p. 490.

be found by an investigation into the bequests of manuscripts and printed books made by our translators to the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. Archbishop Parker, e.g., left among others "50 books chiefly consisting of commentaries upon the Old Testament and the New Testament." [1] That Parker took a personal interest in the advancement of Hebrew Studies is shown by a letter, addressed jointly with Bishop Grindal to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses at Cambridge in 1569 recommending to them Rodolphus Cavallerius, "otherwise called Mr. Anthony" [Chevalier].[2] We find among Parker's correspondents another Hebrew Professor, Immanuel Tremellius, a convert from Judaism.[1] And in 1574 Parker promises to do "the best I can to other of my Cambridge brothers, to contribute some increase of living to that Hebrew reader." [3]

Until this question of books is decided one can only surmise, though not without foundation, that Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* must have been the main source of information for the English Hebraists no less than for those on the Continent. This fundamental work was published for the first time in 1506. It drew largely on Rashi's *Commentary*, published, as stated before, in 1475, and for the dictionary embodied in his work Reuchlin made ample use of R. David Qimḥi's *Book of Roots* (*Sefer haShorashim*), published in 1480.[4] After years of private studies, Reuchlin obtained his first teacher of Hebrew in 1492

[1] *See* Strype, *Life of Parker*, II, 475.

[2] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 348 f. The same is referred to in a letter of Rodolph Zwingli addressed to Bishop Sandys thanking him for the Hebrew knowledge he (Zw.) acquired at Cambridge from Anthony Chevalier and Immanuel Tremellius (*Zürich Letters*, 2nd Series). Chevalier, a French Protestant Refugee, occupied the Chair of Hebrew at Cambridge under Edward VI. He contributed Latin translations of Pseudo-Jonathan's Targum on the *Pentateuch*, corrections of Targum on the *Earlier and Later Prophets* to Walton's Polyglot. Left also Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae. *See Athenae Cantab.* I, 306-8. Tremellius was Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, 1549-52 (*J. P. Mullinger*, The University of Cambridge, pp. 416 ff.). *See* also *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 425, and D.N.B., *s.v.*

[3] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 468. The reference is to Peter Bignon, but Edward Lively was appointed. *See* Strype, *op. cit.* II, 379.

[4] *See* the full study by *Dr. Ludwig Geiger*, Johann Reuchlin, etc., Leipzig, 1871, especially pp. 105 ff., and based thereon *S. A. Hirsch's* essay on Reuchlin in *A Book of Essays*, London, 1905.

in the person of Jacob ben Yeḥiel Loans, body-physician to Emperor Frederick III, and later in Rome he studied under Obadiah Sforno of Cesena. According to Geiger, Reuchlin follows closely the arrangement of Qimḥi, whose grammar (*Sefer haMiḳhlol*) he mentions once in his *Rudiments* and whose Commentaries he uses freely. He also quotes Maimonides. But he holds Rashi as the *Ordinary Interpreter of Scripture* (*ordinarius scripturae interpres*) in special regard and often accepts his interpretations. Reuchlin was well known among the English reformers. One of his disciples was Conrad Pellicanus, the teacher of Sebastian Münster, who speaks very highly of his master in the Preface to his Latin translation of the Old Testament.[1] Sebastian Münster undertook a second impression of Reuchlin's *Rudiments* in 1537, with considerable changes. As regards Sebastian Münster's translation we may do well in quoting his own words to show to what an extent he allowed himself to be guided by Jewish exegesis. In his Preface he admits: "Consuluimus . . . in Pentateucho ex Heb. scriptoribus Chal. [daeum] interpretem, Rabi Salomonem [Rashi], David Kimhi, Ibn Ezra, R. Menahem [ben Saruq, the Grammarian and author of a Hebrew dictionary], . . . Mosen Gerundensem [Nachmanides] . . . et quosdam alios: et cuius expositio in obscurioribus locis nobis commodior visa fuit, hunc sequuti sumus." In other words, he consulted the Targum and the Rabbinic mediæval Hebrew commentaries in order to arrive at a better understanding of the obscure passages in the Pentateuch (and we may add, the same applies to the other parts of the Bible), and he follows the best explanation. Of value and interest is his observation on the importance of the Targum for Jewish exegesis: "Facimus autem saepiuscule Chal. aeditionis mentionem quod illa sit veluti asylum Hebraeis, ad quum confugiant, quando aliquid obscurum et senticosum occurrit. Nam illa luculenter explicat, quod in divinis libris minus clarum positum invenitur, ut saepe in nostris monstrabimus annotationibus." We venture to suggest that almost wherever we find a Targumic interpretation as the English translation from the *Great Bible* onward such a translation originates in Münster's Latin version

[1] Basel, 1534-35.

if he either translates like the Targum or, even if he should follow the *Vulgate* in a different translation, at least quotes the Targum in his annotations following upon each chapter. This is not the place to assess the critical value of Münster's version. But it ought to be stated, in view of Parker's instruction and of Sandys' adverse verdict that Münster was not only a sound Hebraist but well versed in Jewish exegesis as well. He does not follow the Rabbis blindly, he carefully weighs their interpretations in his mind and never forgets to mention dissenting views if he quotes Hebrew exegesis.[1] Who imparted this knowledge of Jewish exegesis which is exceptionally extensive and sound to Münster? We have heard before that Pellicanus and Reuchlin's *Rudiments* were his teachers. But not they alone. He like Reuchlin had his Jewish teacher, as he says himself in his Preface: "Mihi ab Hebraeo, qui me in Scripturis erudivit, ita expositum est." This *Hebraeus* was no other than Elias Levita. He may account for the authorities quoted other than those found in Reuchlin, notably Rashi and Qimḥi. For the ordinary Jewish teacher would rarely adduce Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, Gersonides, etc., but would rather confine himself to the Targum and Rashi. Münster repaid his teacher by translating most of his grammatical works into Latin, and another of Levita's disciples and friends, Paul Fagius, published his Targumic Dictionary, the first of its kind, and also his *Tishbi* which he translated into Latin. Fagius who, together with Münster, did most to spread Levita's fame and to establish his influence on Hebraists, held the Chair of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1549,[2] preceding Immanuel Tremellius. It stands to reason that Fagius made use of Levita's treatises at Cambridge. But this has yet to be verified.

As far as possible at the moment we have answered the question of books used. Fagius as well as Tremellius partly answer for the other question: who were the instructors of the English Hebraists. Towards the close of the sixteenth century

[1] E.g. in *Gen.* xlix, 5, he adopts the Jewish interpretation, based on the Targum, in his translation of שׁוֹר by 'murus' in these terms: "*Suffoderunt murum*: Hebraei exponunt hic שׁוֹר pro חוֹמָה muro, et non pro tauro, praeter unum Rab. Sal. qui per taurum docet intelligendum Joseph."

[2] *See* Mullinger, *op. cit.*, and *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 95, 538.

we find at Cambridge another baptized Jew, Philip Ferdinand,[1] giving Hebrew private lessons. That Tremellius had acquired a considerable knowledge of Jewish exegesis prior to his conversion can easily be gauged from his Latin translation of the Old Testament. From my perusal of his version I am inclined to think, however, that his use of Hebrew exegesis must at least partly be attributed to Münster's transmission whose arrangement he seems to follow by adding linguistic and exegetical notes at the end of chapters. His translation is said to have enjoyed wide Protestant approval. A study of his literary remains would establish his scholarship. He wrote among other works a Commentary on *Hosea*, a Chaldaean and Syriac Grammar, and translated the *XII Minor Prophets* in Aramaic into Latin. Rainolds on *Obadiah* attacks his translation,[2] but we shall find traces of it in the *Authorized Version*.[3] Finally, " in 1608 " we find that " two Jews, who were not members of the University, were allowed to read in the Bodleian Library, viz. James Wolfgang, who is described in the certificate of admission as " a man well deserving in the Hebrew tongue and a convert from Judaism," and James Levita, ' Judaeus Orientalis '.[4] In the following year Isaac Casaubon meets Jacob Barnett whom he recommends to Oxford, where Kilbye licensed him to lecture in Hebrew.[5] Only Kilbye's Commentary[6] can show us whether Barnett influenced him. Wood's remark rather suggests it.

One thing before all will be clear from this fragmentary sketch of the state of Hebrew studies in this country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries : without a close investigation of hitherto unpublished or at least unused evidence it will not be possible to decide the part which personal contact with Jews of more or less Jewish learning and the first systematic treatises on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography played in

[1] *See* preceding note, and *Lucien Wolf*, The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History, 1290-1656, in *Papers, Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, London, 1888, pp. 53 ff., particularly pp. 65 ff.

[2] *See* later, p. 162. [3] *See* later, pp. 154, 159.

[4] A. Neubauer in *Collectanea*, Second Series, edid. M. Burrows. Oxford, 1890.

[5] On Barnett and his strange fate, *see* L. Wolf, *op. cit.*, and Neubauer, *op. cit.*

[6] *See* above, p. 162.

equipping the translators with their Hebrew knowledge, in addition to the help they derived from previous translations in accordance with their terms of reference. A complete answer will perhaps never be given. Yet the road leading to it runs through notes about ownership of Hebrew Manuscripts in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Libraries of the various Oxford and Cambridge Colleges which have received bequests by Archbishop Parker and others. Records of these Colleges may yield some information as well as correspondence, published and especially unpublished of English divines and scholars with their opposite numbers on the Continent [1] and among themselves. The *State Papers* in the Record Office must also be consulted.

As far as the English translations are concerned, contemporary Latin translations made from the Hebrew original as well as Luther's German version, probably in the case of Tindale, certainly in the case of Coverdale in his Bible of 1537, will account for most of this influence of Jewish exegesis. Luther owes his acquaintance with Rashi mainly to Nicholas of Lyra. Tindale may have received help from Jews during his Continental stay. What is most remarkable is the fact that Coverdale approaches much nearer to Jewish exegesis in his revision of *Matthew's Bible*, thanks to Münster's Latin version, whereas in his own attempt, 1537, he is strongly influenced by Luther. The *Genevan Version* clearly shows the imprint of Münster. But not only will it have to be proved in every case whether this imprint is a direct one or comes through the *Great Bible*, but there is also Leo Judae's Latin Version of 1544 to be considered. That Leo is of Jewish descent is probable. His son says of this matter: "Nun möcht es wohl sein, dass vielleicht seine Vorfahren wären Juden gewesen, vom Judenthum abgestanden und Christen geworden, besonders weil dort im Elsass viele Juden wohnen." Though this is likely so the anyhow remote Jewish parentage does not appear to have left traces in the form of Hebrew and Rabbinic knowledge, for we are told by Leo's

[1] We are told, e.g., that Tremellius was in correspondence with "many of the most distinguished men of an illustrious age" (*see* L. Wolf, *op. cit.*).

biographer [1] that he translated the whole Bible from 1538, assisted by Michael Adam, a convert from Judaism. Most likely, this convert supplied the Jewish exegesis found in Leo's translation.

Turning to the *Bishops' Bible* we recall Archbishop Parker's injunction to follow 'for the verity of the Hebrew the said Pagnine, etc.' Pagnino betrays considerable familiarity with Jewish exegesis in his Latin version (1528), must obviously have seen Münster's translation, but—as is only natural for a Dominican—follows the *Vulgate* much more than any of the other versions. That he took his Hebrew studies seriously and attained a certain efficiency is proved by the existence of a *Hebrew glossary*, first published at Lyons, 1529, and printed by Plantin at Antwerp in 1570 in an abridged form under the title *Epitome Thesauri linguae sanctae.*[2] In it he often quotes Rashi, R. Jonah [Ibn Djannāḥ], Qimḥi, R. Abraham (ibn Ezra ?). Whether this work rests on Pagnino's own research, based on Qimḥi's *Book of Roots*, or is modelled upon Reuchlin's *Rudiments* [3] is a matter for close investigation. His knowledge of Hebrew was certainly considerable.

As stated above, Tremellius' Latin translation is to be taken into account for the *Authorized Version*. Where this *Authorized Version* stands on its own, the source must be sought in the scholarship of the translators. Here is a profitable field for

[1] In : Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformierten Kirche IX. Edid. K. R. Hagenbach, etc. Elberfeld, 1861.

[2] The Hebrew title is : קְצָר אוֹצָר לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ , Anthony Chevalier, *see* n. 2, p. 145, published emendations of it. We have consulted the Rylands copy of it.

[3] Since this paper was sent to press we have been able to consult the original *Rudimenta Hebraica*, 1506. Dr. Geiger's views are fully borne out. As regards Pagnino, it is not always possible to decide whether he used Qimḥi or only Reuchlin in the cases where both Qimḥi and Reuchlin coincide. But so much is certain that Pagnino follows Qimḥi much more closely by citing all the words derived from one and the same root. As a rule he only shortens the argument or substitutes for an authority named by Qimḥi *alij*. He also introduces every letter by *Litera* א , e.g., just as Qimḥi writes אות האלף , etc. Contrary to Reuchlin he brings at the end of each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, just like Qimḥi, all the *quadriliterals* mentioned by the latter in exactly the same way. These two last mentioned points suggest rather a direct perusal of Qimḥi by Pagnino. But his *Thesaurus*—we had only the *Epitome* at our disposal—must be carefully examined for this question.

research. The possible lines of approach have been tentatively suggested above.

A number of characteristic examples may supplement the foregoing pages.

## II. Rashi's Interpretation followed in the English Versions.

### A. *In the Translations.*

1. *Genesis* xlix. 5 כלי חמס מכרותיהם

Rashi offers two explanations which both find their echo in the translations. He says: 'an expression for weapons. The sword in Greek (*means*) μαχαῖρα (*Tanḥumā*). Another explanation is (*Ber. R.*) in the land of their sojourn they are wont to weapons of violence, like *Ezekiel* xvi. 3. And this is the translation of Onqelos.'

מכרותיהם. לשון כלי זיין. הסייף בלשון יוני מכי"ר (תנחומא). דבר אחר: (ב"ר) בארץ מגורתם נהגו עצמם בכלי חמס כמו יחזקאל טז' . . . וזהו תרגום של אונקלוס.

*T*(indale): weked instruments are their wepons.

*C*(overdale): their deadly weapons are perlous instrumentes.

*M*(ünster): vasa violenta in habitaculis eorum.

In a note he quotes, just like Rashi, two opinions, the one following the Targum, the other seeing a Greek word in it.

*GR*(eat Bible): cruell instrumentes in their habitacions.

(Leo) *J*(udae): arma violenta macherae eorum. *Marg.* Quidam legunt, habitatio eorum.

*G*(enevan Bible): the instruments of crueltie are in their habitacions. *Or*, their swordes are instruments of violence.

*P*(agnino): . . . in habitationibus suis. The other meaning is quoted in his *Epitome.*

*B*(ishops' Bible): are cruell instrumentes in their habitations.

*A*(uthorized Version): instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. *Or*, their swords are instruments of violence.

*R*(evised Version): weapons of violence are their swords.

*TR*(emellius): instrumenta violentiae conventiones eorum. He explains this in a note: hoc est pactionibus illis quibus cum Schecemitis convenerunt. This agrees with Ibn Ezra's own

explanation who says, after reviewing and rejecting existing interpretations: after they had concluded an alliance with the Shekhemites they murdered them cunningly.

שאחר שהכניסו אנשי שכם בברית הרגום במרמה.

Tindale, "Matthew" (who is not specially mentioned) and Coverdale follow the *Vulgate* with Jerome's explanation *arma eorum*, which is also the one view propounded by Rashi who himself quotes the *Midrash*. St. Jerome may well have heard it from his Jewish helpers. *GR*, following upon *M*, introduces the other Jewish view. *J* adopts the first in his translation and brings the second in his note. *G* and *A* bring both, *B* follows *M*'s and *P*'s translation, and *R* goes back to the older translations, substituting 'weapons' for 'instruments'. *TR* goes his own way by adopting Ibn Ezra's view which is comparatively rarely represented in the translations.

2. *Genesis* xlix. 10. ולו יקהת עמים

*Rashi* explains this phrase by *an assembly of peoples.*

אסיפת העמים.

*Lyra* accepts the rendering of the *Vulgate* but says: In Hebraeo autem habitur sic: Et erit ei aggregatio gentium.

*T*: to whom the people shall herken.

*C*: and unto him *shal* the people fall.

*M*: et ad illum aggregatio (erit) populorum.

*GR*: unto hym shal the gatheringe of the people be.

*J*: et ad illum gentes confluent.

*G*: and the people *shal* be gathered unto him.

*P*: Et ei erit aggregatio populorum.

*B A*: unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

*TR*: et sit ei obedientia populorum.

*R*: unto him shall the obedience of the people be.

Here again Rashi is introduced by *M* whose translation is adopted by *GR* which in its turn is followed by *B* and *A*. *G* only exchanges the noun for a verbal clause, perhaps under the influence of *J*. *P* either follows Rashi directly or via Lyra's explanation. He quotes Rashi in his *Epitome.*

*T TR* and *R* seem to follow the Aramaic rendering, for we read in the Targum *and to him shall obey the peoples.*

ולה ישתמעון עממיא.

3. *v.* 26. עד־תאות גבעות עולם

Rashi explains תאות by קצות 'ends' and the whole phrase by *unto the end of the boundaries of the everlasting hills.*

עד סוף גבולי גבעות עולם.

*T C*: after the desier of the hilles of the worlde.

*M*: usque ad extremitatem collium mundi.

*GR B*: unto the utmost of the hilles of the worlde.

*J*: usque ad desiderabiles colles qui iam olim fuerint. But he explains: quidem legunt usque ad terminos collium vel circuitum.

*G*: unto the end of the hilles of the worlde.

*P*: usque ad terminum collium perpetuorum. But cp. his *Epitome s.v.* אוה giving 'desiderium', but not quoting this passage. He may follow Lyra in his translation.

*TR*: usque ad finem collium saeculi.

*A R*: unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.

*T C J* translate the word in its usual meaning, following the *Vulgate*. But *J* reproduces Rashi in his note and *M* introduces it into all subsequent translations. *P*'s translation is more correct as 'mundi', 'of the worlde' would require העולם in the Hebrew text. But whereas these versions reproduce the text only, *A R* include Rashi's explanation in their rendering as well.

Of other examples in *Genesis* the following may be noted: iv. 1; xxxxvii. 35; L. 5.

4. *Exodus* xiv. 20 ויהי הענן והחשך ויאר את־הלילה

Rashi says to 'and it was a cloud and darkness' *for Egypt* (למצרים); to 'and it lit up' *a column of fire the night for Israel* (לישראל).

Based upon Rashi directly or through the transmission of Lyra *J* adds in brackets [Aegyptiis] and [Israelitis].

*M* in annotating this verse explains thus and says: "Et haec est expositio Chal. interprete et R. Abr. Sepharadi."

*TR*: illis erat nubes et tenebrae, *his* autem illustrabat noctem ipsam.

*A*: and it was a cloud and darkness *to them* but it gave light by night *to these.*

*TR* undoubtedly is the source for *A*, the only English version which inserts these words for the sake of clarity. Rashi as often follows the Targum.

5. xix. 13 במשך היובל

Rashi *if the horn draws out a long sound*

כשימשוך היובל קול ארוך.

*T C*: when the horne bloweth.

*P*: quum perplixum sonitum dederit buccina. *Epitome*: 'Cum protraxerit (.i. longiorem sonitum dederit) cornu.'

*M*: cum prolixius buccina sonuerit. He explains במשך exactly like the Hebrew Commentators.

*GR*: when the trompe bloweth longe.

*J*: Quum protractus fuerit Jobel.

*G* (*B*): when the horne (trumpet) bloweth long.

*TR*: cum tractim sonabit cornu. His note runs: id est, audietur continens unius toni sonus.

*A R*: when the trumpet soundeth long.

Here again it is *M* who introduces a translation which in Archbishop Parker's phrase follows closely *the verity of the Hebrew.*

For other examples in *Exodus* see i. 11; ii. 16, 25; xii. 8, 9, 21; xxi. 10; xxii. 18, 28; xxiii. 1; xxv. 2, 39. xxi. 10 and xxii. 28 are particularly instructive.

6. *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 15 כשית

Rashi: כשית is like כסית. It is the expression of Job xv. 27, for he has covered his face *with his fatness.*

לשון (איוב טו) כי כסה פניו בחלבו.

All English versions translate *with fatness* undoubtedly under the influence of Rashi's explanation.

7. *v.* 42. מראש פרעות אויב

Rashi: because of the transgression from the beginning when the enemy broke in, for when the Holy One, blessed be He, punishes the nations he avenges upon them their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers from the very beginning of their onslaught upon Israel.

מפשע תחלת פרצות האויב כי כשהקב״ה נפרע מן האומות פוקד עליהם עונם ועונות אבותיהם מראשית פרצה שפרצו בישראל.

*T*: ' and of the bare heed of the enemye.'

*C*: and in that enemies heade shall be discovered.

*M*: idque propter sanguinem occisorum et captivitatem (eorum) a capite ultionum inimici. His explanation is: et eum captivum abduxerunt, incipiamque ulcisci a capite et initio primae iniuriae quam hostis intulit.

*GR*: and for their captivite, sens the beginning of the wrath of the enemye.

*J*: ab hosti summatim ultiones rependam. He adds in the margin: Alii legunt a capite nudatorum, alii, a capite ultionem hostis.

*G*: when I beginne to take vengeance of the enemie.

*P*: reddam ultionem hostibus meis.

*B*: since the beginning of the wrath of the enemie.

*TR*: confossorum et captivorum, inde a principio erunt ultiones inimici. He explains this: *Inde a principio.* id est cum ultionem sumam de inimicis, nihil impunitum relinquam eorum quae inde a principio contra me commiserunt.

*A*: from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy.

*R*: from the head of the leaders of the enemy (*or*, the hairy head of the enemy).

Rashi arrives at his explanation by taking the Hebrew root פרע in the meaning it has in Aramaic as *avenging punishment*. Moreover, he takes ראש to mean ' beginning ' and not ' head.'

*T C J* in his first alternative base their translations upon the *Vulgate*: et de captivitate nudati inimicorum capitis.

*M* strikes the middle between *Vulgate* and Rashi. He takes ראש, both as ' head ' and as ' beginning ', thus working his two sources together. His explanation follows the *Vulgate* in the first part, but from *incipiamque* it is abbreviated Rashi. *GR* derives from *M*.

*J* likewise combines *Vulgate* and Rashi. *P* agrees with *J* and *B* with *GR*. *G* seems to reproduce the second half of *M*'s explanation in an abbreviated form. *TR* retains some of the *Vulgate* but the second part of his translation and his explanation

are clearly modelled upon Rashi. *A* is Rashi contracted. And *R* is in favour of yet two other possible meanings of the root פרע

8. xxxiii. 29. ויכחשו

Rashi : *like the Gibeonites*, כגון הגבעונים . He takes ויכחשו like the Targum, ויכדבון . He is followed by Lyra.

*T* : shal hyde themselves from the.

*C* : shall pyne awaye.

*M* : debilitati sunt inimici tui erga te.

*B* (*GR*) : have lost their strength to the (warde).

*J* : Et mentientur tibi inimici tui.

*G* : shalbe in subjection to thee.

*P* : negabunt (like *Vulgate*).

*TR* : Sic reddantur abjecti inimici tui tibi. In marg. : *Heb.* mendaces.

*A* : shall be found liars (*or*, shall be subdued).

*R* : shall submit themselves unto thee (marg. yield feigned obedience).

*J* is the first to follow Rashi, either directly or through Lyra. *M* is followed by *GR* and *B*. *A* follows ultimately Rashi in the text, in the margin, however, *G* and *TR*.

Among other examples in *Deuteronomy* the following may be mentioned : xxxii. 17, 18 ; xxxiii. 12, 27.

9. *Micah* i. 9. כי אנושה מכותיה

Rashi : *for she is sick of her wounds.* כי חולה היא במכותיה

*T*/*M* (for Tindale-Matthew) *C GR B* : is paste remedy.

*M* (*J*) : quia (quoniam) desperata est plaga eius.

*P* : quia desperatae sunt plagae tuae.

*G* : for her plagues are grieveous.

*TR* : aegra fuit *Shomron* plagis suis.

*A* : for her wound is incurable (*or*, she is grieveously sick of her wounds).

*R* : for her wounds are incurable.

*A* adopts Rashi's explanation in the margin. *TR* brings here R. David Qimḥi's interpretation, without naming his source as he did with Ibn Ezra above. Qimḥi says *ad loc.* among other things : the plague that fell upon Samaria and came as far as Judah. המכה החלה בשמרון ובאה עד יהודה.

10. iii. 5. וקדשו עליו מלחמה

Rashi, rendering the Targum into Hebrew without acknowledgment, says : *and they prepare war against him.*
והזמינו עליו למלחמה.

*T/M C GR* : they preach of warre.

*M* : adornant. But he quotes the Targum in the note thus : contra hunc excitant bellum.

*J* : bellum denunciant.

*P* : praeparant bellum.

*G B A* : they even prepare war against him.

*T R* : indicunt bellum.

*R* : like *A*, but has in the margin : *Heb.* ' sanctify.'

*P G B A* are clearly influenced by Rashi, possibly through the medium of *P* or of *M* in which latter case it would be correct to attribute the influence to the Targum. If *P* is responsible this would constitute the only case we have come across of *P*'s influence ; cp. also his *Epitome.*

11. v. 3. לכן יתנם

Rashi, possibly taking his cue from the Targum's יתמסרון *they will be handed over* explains : *he will give them into the hands of their enemies.* יתנם ביד אויביהם

*T/M C GR* : whyle he plageth them.

*M* : in a note *ad loc.* says before the Messiah is born into the world *tradet deus Jehudaeos in magnas afflictiones.*

*G B A* : Therefore will he give them up. Targum or Rashi are behind this translation.

*TR* : exponet *quidem* eos.

12. *Amos* v. 12. ואביונים בשער הטו

Rashi : ' in the gates of your courts they pervert the right of the poor.' בשערי בתי דיניכם הטו משפט אביונים

*T/M C GR* : ye oppresse the poore in judgment.

*M* : et pauperum (causam) in porta pervertunt.

*J* : ut deijiciatis pauperem in foro (foro, Ebr. nam fora in portis erant).

*G B* : and they oppresse the poore in the gate.

*TR* : et egentes in porta pervertentium.

*P* : et pauperum iudicium in porta perverterunt.

*A* (*R*) : and they turn aside the poor (needy) in the gate *from their right*.

Here again Rashi is behind *A R*, whilst *P*'s *iudicium* also comes from Rashi.

Other examples of Rashi's influence are : *Micah* ii. 3 ; iv. 13 ; vi. 3, 13. *Amos* vi. 4 ; ix. 1, 9.

To assess the imprint of Jewish exegesis properly we must not limit our inquiry to Rashi. A systematic investigation must comprise the Targum as well as all the Mediaeval Hebrew Commentators. A few examples may illustrate this.

13. *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 7. ידיו רב לו

Ibn Ezra : *let his hands be sufficient for him.* יספיקו לו ידיו

*T* : let his handes fyght for him.

*C* : let his handes multiplye.

*M* : manus eius sufficiens est sibi.

*GR B* : his handes shalbe good ynough for hym.

*J* : manus eius multae erunt.

*P* : contendent sibi.

*G A* : let his hands be sufficient for hym.

*TR* : manibus eius satis *sit* ei.

*T* and *P*, following the *Vulgate* ; *C* and *J* ; *M G A* and *GR B TR* agree with each other. *M* accepts the interpretation of Ibn Ezra tacitly and hands this down to all subsequent English versions.

14. *I Samuel* xx. 4. מה־תאמר נפשך

Targum : *What is the desire of your soul.* מא רעוא נפשך

*T*/*M* (*C*) *GR* : whatsoever thy soul (heart) desyreth.

*M* : quidquid dixerit anima tua.

*J* : quidquid pro voto desideras. Note : Ebr. quid dixerit anima tua.

*G* : requireth (Heb. sayeth). *B* : desireth (Heb. sayth).

*TR* : quod sit desyderium tuum. Marg. : Hebr. quis sit animus tuus. sic animus pro desyderio *Ps.* 27. 12 et alibi frequenter.

*A* : whatsoever thy soul desireth (*Heb.* speaketh, or thinketh).

*R* : like *A* (*Heb.* saith).

In this case *T/M* already follows the Targum. Perhaps Tindale owes this acquaintance with the Targum to personal instruction from Jews? *TR* makes a plunder, for it is not נפשך that means 'wish' but the verb אמר is rendered by the noun רעוא 'will, pleasure'!

15. *Micah* vi. 9. ותושיה יראה שמך

R. David Qimḥi: the man of wisdom . . . said the prophet: "if I announce your words in the midst of the city he who is the man of wisdom among them alone shall see in his innermost heart your honoured name . . ."

ואיש תושיה . . . אמר הנביא כשאני קורא דבריך . . . בתוך העיר מי שהוא איש חכמה ביניהם הוא לבדו יראה בתוך לבבו את שמך הנכבד . . .

Rashi explains similarly "who sets his heart *upon the task* to understand and see your ways."

אשר נותן לב להתבונן ולראות דרכיך

*T/M C GR*: that thy name may be righteousnesse.

*M*: et (vir) salutis videbit nomen tuum. He explains: Est autem תושיה non salus sed existentia, et id quod firmum manet, quales sunt electi et praeordinati ad salutem. Hebraei tamen exponunt חכמה sapientiam, quae sola in mundo inferiori permanet. . . .

*J*: quique ratione praeditus est, videbit nomen tuum. *marg.* alij legunt, timebit. Does he mean Pagnino by 'alij'?

*G A*: and *the man of* wisdom shall see thy name.

*TR*: nam quod res est videt nomen tuum.

*A* marg. *Or*, thy name shall see that which is.

*B*: the man that shalbe saved consydereth thy name.

*P*: et vir sapiens timebit nomen tuum. In his *Epitome* he gives also other meanings quoting Qimḥi.

*GR* does not follow *M* in this case. But *M* borrows (vir) from Qimḥi as well as his explanation. And it is this Jewish exegesis which found its way into *G* and *A* whilst *A* follows *TR* in the alternative translation of the margin.

*J* may equally well be influenced by Rashi or Qimḥi.

Apart from Rashi the Targum, Qimḥi and Ibn Ezra will be the principal exponents of Jewish exegesis in the English versions. It is for this reason that we gave the last three examples.

B. *In the Notes of the Genevan and the Bishops' Bibles.*

16. To *Genesis* xlvii. 21, ' he removed them from one end . . . of Egypt to the other end.'

Rashi : *as a reminder that they had no longer any share* (*or portion*) *in the land.* לזכרון שאין להם עוד חלק בארץ

*M* : Seu ut Hebraica habent : in signum quod nihil proprij amplius haberent in terra.

*G* : ' By this changing they signified that they had nothing of their owne but received all of the kings liberalitie.'

*B* : This was a token that they had no proprietie more in the lande.

*B* is a literal translation of *M* who, in his turn, translates Rashi.

17. To *Genesis* xlix. 10, ' until Shilo come.'

Rashi : *the king Messiah whose will be the kingdom.* And thus Onqelos translates. מלך המשיח שהמלוכה שלו

*P* translates : donec veniat Messias. In his *Epitome s.v.* שיל refers to this passage and translates Filius eius, quoting ' Tharg. Christus.'

*J* : in the margin we find : Shilo, felicitator.

*M* : quotes משיח שילו , based on Targum.

*B* : Shilo, Messias is here promised.

*TR* : usquedum venerit filius eius. *Heb.* secundae eius, hoc est, Christus, ut Chaldaea paraphrasis utraque (i.e. Pseudo-Jonathan as well as Onqelos), et Hebr. interpretes fere omnes consentiunt.

*B* may derive from *P*, *M* or Rashi. *TR* follows Pseudo-Jonathan זעיר בנוי *the youngest of his sons.*

18. To *Exodus* xxi. 6, ' and he shall serve him for ever.'

Rashi : until the Jubilee, or not so but for ever? Therefore Scripture teaches (*Leviticus* xxv. 10) : *and ye shall return every man to his family.* This shows that 50 years are called עולם ; but not that he serve him all the 50 years, nay, he shall serve him until the Jubilee be it near at hand or far off.

עד היובל או אינו אלא לעולם כמשמעו. ת״ל ואיש אל משפחתו תשובו מגיד שנ׳ שנה קרויים עולם ולא שיהא עובדו כל נ׳ שנה אלא עובדו עד היובל בין סמוך בין מופלג.

*M*: Id est, usque ad iubileum: sive is annus prope fuerit, sive longe abfuerit. Sic enim Hebraei communiter exponunt hunc locum.

*B*: The worde in Hebrue dooth not always sounde perpetuitie, sometyme it is taken for a long continuance for in this case they were never set free tyl the yeare of Jubilee, whiche was a tyme of generall pardon.

*TR* also explains until the Jubilee.

The origin of the note in *B* is quite clear.

19. To *Exodus* xxix. 24, 'and shalt wave them for a wave offering.'

Rashi: He waves forward and backward unto Him who possesses the four sides of the world. . . He waves upward and downward unto Him who possesses Heaven and Earth.
מוליך ומביא למי שד׳ רוחות העולם שלו מעלה ומוריך למי שהשמים והארץ שלו.

*M*: Siginifcat הֲנִיף aliquid in sublime porrectum, hinc inde ad quattuor mundi plagas movere, et quasi ventilare.

*B*: 'This sort of offering after the priest had lyfted it up, was moved into every side of al coastes, to signifie that God was Lorde of al the earth. It was muche lyke to the manner of blessings used in papistes churches over the chalice.'

Here *M* alone does not account for *B*. It must therefore be assumed that the writer of the note had a first-hand knowledge of the original Rashi.

Attention may be drawn to another notable instance of Rashi serving as interpreter, i.e. *Exodus* xxi. 10. Other examples are xxii. 18, 25, 28.

20. *Isaiah* xli. 1. איים 'Islands.'

Rashi: Islands. Idolators to reprove them.
איים. עכו״ם להוכיחם על פניהם.

*B*: By the Ylandes, God meaneth the Gentles whom he reproveth for their idolatrie.

21. *v.* 5. 'The isles saw *it* and feared.'

Rashi: The idolators. the wonders I am performing. . (*or*, powerful works). עובדי עכו״ם הגבורות שאעשה ויראו

*G*: considering mine excellent workes among my people. 'and came.'

Rashi: they assembled themselves to fight.

זה אצל זה נאספים להלחם.

*G*: they assembled themselves and conspired against me to maintain their idolatrie.

Both notes go back to Rashi.

22. *v.* 25.

Rashi: and Cyrus shall, etc. . . . וכורש העירותי

*G* translates: from the East sunne shal he call upon my name. 'he' in *marg.* That is, Cyrus. So also *B.*

These examples may suffice to show that Rashi did not only supply the translation of many a passage but also furnished a number of notes for the better understanding of both the *Genevan* and the *Bishops' Bibles.*

That Rashi's influence could not be limited to the actual translations but ought to have extended to the writings of the translators dealing with the Old Testament appears to be a safe assumption.

We may therefore be allowed to conclude this study with a short paragraph on

C. *Rashi's Interpretation in English Biblical Commentaries.*

As stated above we were unable to procure copies of the Commentaries written by Gilby of the *Genevan* nor Kilbye and Lively of the *Authorized Version.* But we were able to consult John Rainolds' treatises on *Obadiah* and *Haggai.*[1]

23. In his commentary on *Obadiah* Rainolds translates i. 9, איש מהר עשו by 'the valiant of the mount . . .' Commenting on this verse he polemises against Tremellius' translation 'every one of the mount . . .' He continues: 'But sith the Hebrew word איש signifieth a valiant man, differing from אדם as *vir* doth from *homo*, and ἀνήρ from ἄνθρωπος. . . .'[2] Now we find in Rashi *ad loc.* 'Every valiant man, כל איש גבור

[1] First published Oxford, 1613, resp. London, 1648. The edition used for this paper is dated 1864 and appeared in Nichol's Comms.

[2] *Obadiah*, p. 20. On p. 39 he rails against 'the frantic dreams of Jewish rabbins' who refer the captivity of *v.* 20 to Titus, etc.

24. Commenting on *Haggai* i. 8 he refutes the Jewish interpretation that the missing ה in ואכבד signify that 'the latter temple was greater than the former.' He goes on: 'Some of them will say in regard of the building, others in respect of the continuance, for that as they account this stood ten years longer than the former which is laid down by the author of their ordinary gloss. . . .' "Nay, they are convinced of madness by the same rabbin, for on the same word, because the Hebrew word wanteth the letter ה, which in number standeth with them for fifth, he saith it is a note of mystery; for that this latter temple wanted five things which the former had: (1) Urim and Thummim; (2) the ark of the covenant; (3) fire from heaven; (4) the sign of God's glory; (5) presence of the Holy Ghost; and this is proved, alleging a place of Talmud, which is among the Jews as the decretal among the papists, the author thereof would no more err, than can the pope; a Talmudical fancy; for although ה were wanting (as it is not in those copies which are received without points);[1] but if it were by their fault that copied out of the book, what reason that there would want five things because ה signifieth five in numbering, which is nothing but a sottish and cabalistine toy; for even this temple wanted more than these five things, as they also confess, even in the same book, for there was not the cup of manna, and therefore not only five, but eight or nine more were wanting . . . etc."

We quoted this lengthy tirade in full because it allows us a glimpse into the mind of one of the principal figures of Puritan Biblical scholarship. His knowledge of the Talmud must not have been substantial if he could seriously hold such views! But he must obviously have combined with a militant outspokenness a sound knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and of Jewish exegesis, notably of Rashi whom he calls *the author of their ordinary gloss*, just like Reuchlin. For he actually quotes Rashi's comment on *Haggai* ii. 9: רב ושמואל חד

[1] The Massoretic text distinguishes between ואכבד *K'thib* and *Qere* ואכבדה. The quotation occurs in his *Haggai*, p. 30. His reference to Josephus goes back to Rashi in this instance. But there are other references to Josephus throughout his *Commentary* which suggest that he read Josephus just as he read and quoted other classical authors.

אמר בבנין וחד אמר בשנים ששני בית ראשון ת״י ובית שני ת״ך Rab and Sh$^{e}$muel (are of different opinion), the one says with regard to the building, the other says with regard to the continuance, for the first temple stood 410 years and the second 420. And what Rainolds says about the five things, this is literally taken over from Rashi *ad loc.*: "the missing ה accounts for five things which were in the first temple but not in the second: חסר ה״א כנגד ה״ דברים שהיו במקדש ראשון ולא במקדש שני ארון אורים ותומים ואש ושכינה ורה״ק; the ark, Urim and Thummim, Fire, Divine Presence and Holy Spirit." Now, the *Athenae Cantabrigienses* inform us that Drs. Airay and Rainolds secured a position for the aforementioned Philip Ferdinand as teacher of Hebrew in several Colleges and Halls. Both scholars acted as a sort of tutor to Ferdinand who removed to Oxford in 1596.[1] His knowledge of Hebrew must have been extensive and is attested to by J. Scaliger who was his pupil in the Talmud.[2] We venture to suggest that this former Polish Jew, steeped in Hebrew and Aramaic literature, showed gratitude to his benefactor Rainolds by acquainting him with Jewish exegesis. But without a record for it as yet nothing more definite can be asserted. It may be that a perusal of Ferdinand's literary remains may throw some light on this point. Any future research into the state of Hebrew scholarship in Elizabethan England will have to concentrate on correspondence such as the letters of Scaliger, Casaubon and other famous contemporaries. Though John Selden reaches over into the second half of the seventeenth century it is just likely that among his vast collection of letters material bearing on this question may be found. Generally speaking there should be no lack of material in a century noted for the high quality of its scholarship. And although Hebrew studies could not compete with Classical scholarship their significance cannot be doubted, both as regards mere scholarship and particularly by their bearing upon the genesis of the monumental *Authorized Version*. A monograph on Hebrew scholarship in Elizabethan England is not only a contribution to the history of learning but also to the history of the English Bible. And although much of the advance of the

[1] P. 239. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 549. Where his writings are enumerated.

standard Version of King James is due to Sebastian Münster, it is obvious that even the perusal of his learned notes was only possible for men with an adequate knowledge and understanding of Hebrew. And although Ferdinand and Tremellius, Kilbye, Lively and Rainolds could not vie with Reuchlin, Münster and Fagius in fame perhaps, these scholars after all provided the background for Pococke. A study of their literary remains may well show that their attainments were considerable, and such a study should be made.

That the labours of the Mediaeval Jewish exegetes bore fruit in the works of these Hebraists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not least in their Latin and English Versions of the Hebrew Bible, even the limited number of passages quoted in the foregoing pages should convincingly demonstrate. The English Bible as a literary monument is without rival. Its influence on English style has been recognized by competent judges. Still more obvious and significant is the great moral force which has gone forth from its pages and has so conspicuously helped to mould and shape the English character. It is therefore well to remember that the foundations for this monument were laid by men who saw in the promulgation of God's Word in the vernacular a powerful weapon for the attainment of Christian liberty and freedom. And it is to their lasting credit that in their fierce struggle for reform, helped by the spirit of Humanism and the zeal of the reformers with whom they established contact when in exile on the Continent, they did not spare energy nor industry to turn to the Hebrew fountain and bring it to life in their own tongue. In this task they were assisted by Jewish exegesis, directly or indirectly, through the instrumentality of Latin translations, among which that of Sebastian Münster occupies first place.

To follow up their labours and to assess their failure or success is an academic matter. Yet even the historian who patiently follows the translators of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on their wanderings through the Bible and watches them at work liveth in the present. Witnessing the tragic persecution of the descendants of these Mediaeval exegetes and teachers he cannot but marvel at the coincidence that the descen-

dants of Parker and Rainolds, of Grindal and Kilbye should have again to defend those Rights of Man to which the Bible bears testimony, that Bible which these his forbears introduced to all Christians of their own and all subsequent generations !

It had seemed to me to be a worthy tribute to the memory of one of these teachers on the occasion of the ninth centenary of his birth to recall the services which his interpretation has rendered to the perfection of the English Bible. The same qualities which have endeared Rashi to his people, which have enabled him to teach generation after generation the beauty and truth of their Bible, have also commended him to the Christian student of the Hebrew Bible and to the Christian teachers of their nations. Nobody has set Rashi a finer memorial than that great Humanist Reuchlin in calling him the *Ordinary Interpreter of Scripture*, the echo of which apt characterisation we heard in Rainolds' *author of their ordinary gloss.*[1] It is the simplicity of diction, the directness of approach, the distinction between the literal sense and the homiletic lesson, the attention to grammar—faulty as it sometimes may seem to us moderns—and at the same time the ease with which the often drawn-out Rabbinic interpretation is set forth and brought home to the ordinary reader, it is all these peculiarities of his Commentary singly and all combined which have appealed to the Christian exegetes from the fourteenth century onward. And it is surely no coincidence

[1] Cp. also S. A. Hirsch *Early English Hebraists : Roger Bacon and His Predecessors* in : A Book of Essays, London, 1905, and his *Presidential Address*. (Jewish Historical Society of England *Transactions VII*, London, 1915, pp. 1-18). These are the first studies on Hebrew Scholarship in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England. This subject has now been taken up by Miss Smalley. *See* her *Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in Thirteenth-Century England, as illustrated by some Hebrew-Latin Psalters, Lectiones Series*, No. 6, London, 1939.

Hirsch, in his *Presidential Address*, mentions quotations of Rashi by the Franciscan Henry of Costessy in his *Expositio super Psalmos*, written *ca.* 1336, alongside with quotations from other Jewish authorities. William de la Mare, a contemporary of Roger Bacon, in his *Correctorium Vaticanum* [of the text of the *Vulgate*], cites the *Perush* [Commentary] by which is almost certainly meant *the* Commentary of Rashi (*s.* Hirsch, *ibid.*, p. 12).

It remains to be seen whether the English Hebraists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries knew of and used these earlier, mainly Franciscan Commentaries and otber Hebrew and Biblical studies.

that his Commentary was the first dated printed Hebrew book, a fact which must have largely contributed to the popularity of Rashi's interpretation at a time when 'Back to the original sources' was the battle-cry of the educated. Though Rashi's achievement in the field of Talmudical exegesis by far outdistances his fame as a commentator of the Bible, it is the same quality in both which accounts for his success. Yet, seen in a wider perspective, it is Rashi the Bible-commentator who will live in the minds and memories of men not confined to Jews and Judaism.

All those who value culture and civilization, in particular those who see in Christianity and its teachings the highest ideal for our endangered civilization and who believe that the realization of the Biblical ideal—and after all the Old Testament forms part of it still—is the only road to salvation, would do well to remember that Rashi furnished many a brick to the building of the moral wall which we feel called upon to defend and make into a secure reality.

The last decade of his life was overshadowed by the savage persecutions of the first Crusade and its aftermath. There is great relief in the thought that a more humane generation of Christians have at a time of grave trial vindicated the genius of a persecuted people and have thus enriched a work which they set up as a standard for all times through the toilings of a devout man of God who lived what he taught: Rashi.

# A TWELFTH CENTURY ANGLO-NORMAN CHARTER.

By HELEN RICHARDSON, B.Litt.

AMONG the Ancient Deeds preserved in the Public Record Office there is a document which appears to be the earliest of its kind that has yet come to light.[1] It is an inquisition, taken apparently in the closing years of the twelfth century, and recorded in French. The hand is typical of the period, as will be seen from the facsimile which accompanies this note.

The text is as follows :—

" Les homes Manser de Dommartin dunerent treies mars a duos [2] oscet, a l'un un marc al altre duas, et a lur seinur en aiue li unt dunet xv mars pur le encumbrement de sun fiht que il fist chevalyr,[3] pur le castel de Leiland que il outen guarde v marcas, e pur fin de plejes [4] x sl' et vi d', et icest li unt dunet en bone volentet cum a lur seinur."

It may be translated thus :—

" The men of Manasser de Dammartin gave three marks for two armies, for one a mark, for the other two, and they gave their lord an aid of fifteen marks for the accoutrement of his son whom he knighted, five marks for Leyland Castle which he had in keeping, and ten shillings and six pence as a fine for their pledges, and this they gave him of their goodwill as to their lord."

In the first place, it may be well to set down what can be learned of Manasser de Dammartin.[5] Dammartin-en-Goële, in the modern department of Seine-et-Marne, had given its name to a family which had settled in Suffolk. At Mendlesham in that county two branches of the family were tenants-in-chief of the King. In the days of Henry I Manasser himself had suc-

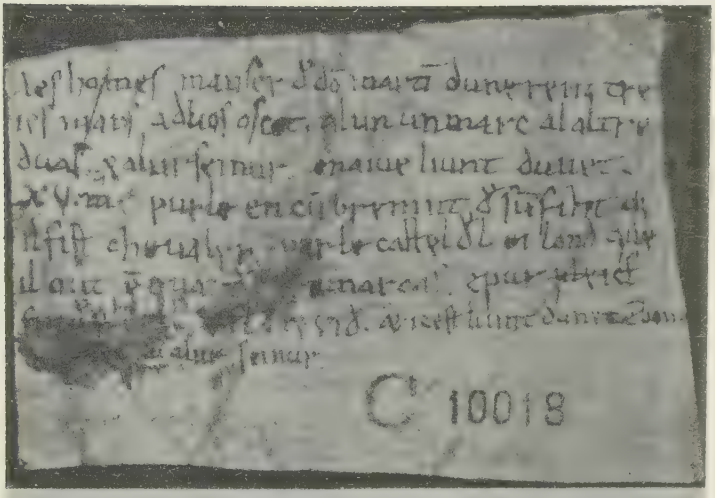
[1] P.R.O., C. 146/10018.

[2] MS. d'uos ; but the mark above the *u* seems to be no more than a slip of the pen.

[3] MS. cheualyr.

[4] MS. pleies.

[5] He presumably owed his Christian name to Manasser, Count of Dammartin, who died in 1037, and from whom he may have been descended.




Anglo-Norman Charter of the Late Twelfth Century.
(P.R.O., C. 146, 10018.)

ceeded his father in a knight's fee there,[1] and early in the reign of Henry II he had been confirmed in his holding.[2] By 1166 he had acquired more extensive lands in Kent as subtenant of Walter de Mayenne and William de Ros.[3] His name occurs on the Pipe Rolls between 1161 and 1178,[4] but after the latter year it is replaced by the name of Bartholomew de Dammartin who, in 1179, accounts for twenty marks ' pro fine terre patris sue '.[5] Entries in the Pipe Rolls referring to Bartholomew cease in 1187,[6] and we get no further light until 1199, when John Brewer paid two marks for scutage in respect of the fee of Manasser de Dammartin.[7] We know, however, from an entry in *The Red Book of the Exchequer* that John Brewer had no more than the custody of the land.[8]

These facts indicate that Manasser died between Michaelmas, 1178, and Michaelmas, 1179, when he was succeeded by his son Bartholomew, who died between 1187 and 1199, either without issue or with an heir under age. John Brewer, who was in favour with Richard I, had been granted the wardship of the lands and heiress of William de Dammartin,[9] who also had a holding at Mendlesham. Whether William or Bartholomew died first is not known : what seems evident is that John Brewer obtained possession of the lands of both of them in the days of Richard I, but at first merely as *custos*. He later married William's heiress, Galiena.[10] Of the subsequent history of Manasser's fee nothing appears to be known : it seems, however, to have become thoroughly confused with William's fee, so much so that in 1275 the hundred jury asserted that Galiena was Manasser's daughter, and added a number of incredible details.[11]

[1] H. Hall, *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 409.
[2] *Pipe Roll*, 9 Henry II, p. 30.
[3] *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 195, 197.
[4] *Pipe Roll*, 8 Henry II, p. 66 ; 24 Henry II, p. 36.
[5] *Ibid.*, 25 Henry II, p. 9.
[6] *Ibid.*, 33 Henry II, p. 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1 John, p. 290.
[8] ii, 477.
[9] *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 60 ; confirmation by King John of Richard's grant to John Brewer.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[11] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, 193. W. A. Copinger in his *Manors of Suffolk*, iii, 277 *seq.*, accepts the errors of the hundred jury in his account of the descent of the manor of Mendlesham.

The point of importance in the present connexion is that between 1187 and 1199 Bartholomew died and John Brewer appeared as *custos* of Manasser's fee, because it was presumably on the occasion of Bartholomew's death, and not of Manasser's, that an inquisition was necessary into the renders made by the tenants, in order to ascertain what profits might be expected to accrue to the Crown. We cannot be far wrong if we ascribe the inquisition to the reign of Richard I, though there is a slender chance that it may come from the closing years of Henry II. We must in any case suppose that the precise details given were supplied from the living memory of men who had known Manasser.

Let us turn now to the substance of the inquisition and, in the first place, to the statement that Manasser had Leyland Castle in his keeping. I have not been able to trace Leyland as a modern place-name in Suffolk, but it is mentioned in a fine of 1238,[1] and also in the Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond.[2] Jocelin mentions the place when telling the story of Henry of Essex, ruined and disgraced in just retribution for the wrongs he had wrought to the abbey of St. Edmund's, and in particular when he disputed the convent's jurisdiction over a girl, who was claimed by Henry because she was born in his lordship of Leyland. Leyland was, therefore, it would seem, a manor which formed part of the honor of Haughley, although there is no mention of it among the lists of the possessions of the honor that have survived.[3] This honor, with the rest of Henry's possessions, was forfeited to the Crown in 1163. That a castle stood at Leyland has not hitherto been known, but then very little is known of baronial castles in the twelfth century. Henry of Essex had a castle also at Haughley, the *caput* of the honor, which was doubtless a stronghold of greater importance.[4] There is no reason for surprise if Leyland Castle has disappeared

[1] P.R.O., CP. 25(1)/213/7 ; the fine conveys a messuage and appurtenances in ' Leylonde ' : it is calendared in *Suffolk Fines*, p. 25.

[2] *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, Camden Society, pp. 50-53.

[3] *Book of Fees*, ii, 914-915, 1464-1465.

[4] It was in the custody of Ranulf de Broc and garrisoned with nearly thirty knights when it was taken by the earl of Leicester in 1173 after a short siege. (*Gesta Henrici*, i, 60-61 ; R. de Diceto, *Opera*, i, 377.)

without trace, for it may have been little more than a mound with a timber stockade. When, however, it came into the King's hands he evidently garrisoned it, at any rate for a time, and at some period it was in Manasser's charge. Although there can hardly have been any recognised obligation upon his tenants to give him an aid to enable him to discharge this duty imposed upon him by the King, he asked for their assistance, and was able to collect four marks.

Of the other sums paid by his men to Manasser, it is impossible to give any further explanation of the ten shillings and sixpence given ' as a fine for their pledges ', since we do not know why the pledges were demanded. The statement that ' this they gave him of their goodwill as to their lord ' refers, it would seem, only to this payment. The aid for knighting the lord's son was customary, and only the language employed needs any commentary: but to this we may return. The payment ' for two armies ' can be linked up with two payments of scutage which Manasser is recorded to have made. The first was one mark in 1161-1162,[1] and the second, in 1171-1172, twenty shillings.[2] It would seem that on the second occasion Manasser collected two marks from his men and, like many barons of his day, was not above making a profit from his tenants when scutage was levied.[3]

The importance of the inquisition lies not so much in its historical details, although these are of considerable interest, as in the evidence it furnishes of the use of French for the purpose at so early a date. Literary texts in Anglo-Norman and other dialects are fairly numerous for the twelfth century, but legal and administrative documents from that century are few. The *Leis Willelme*[4] and some London by-laws[5] are evidence that Anglo-Norman was used for such purposes in the twelfth century, though the existing manuscripts are of the thirteenth. On the Continent no legal documents entirely in any dialect of

[1] *Pipe Roll*, 8 Henry II, p. 66. [2] *Ibid.*, 18 Henry II, p. 31.

[3] A grant from Manasser to Reginald de Cotton, not earlier than 1171 (B.M. Harl. Charter 49 C. 1), shows that he reserved the right to call upon his tenants for a contribution towards royal levies.

[4] A. J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, pp. 252-275.

[5] M. Weinbaum, *London unter Eduard I und II*, ii, 21-29.

French appear to be known before the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1] The earliest, from the year 1204, is preserved at Douai; another, of 1206, is at Tournai.[2] From England the two earliest charters hitherto published are an agreement between Stephen Langton and King John [3] and a Jewish 'starr',[4] both of 1215. Occasional French phrases may occur in Latin charters of early date,[5] but the whole body of Anglo-Norman legal documents surviving from the conquest up to the middle of the thirteenth century is very slender. These, like the Dammartin inquisition, are, we must suppose, but the chance relics of a mass long since dispersed and destroyed. Each additional example that comes to light may be expected to illustrate some fresh use of the vernacular, which we may suspect but cannot prove in the absence of positive evidence.

The language of the inquisition appears to be in some respects archaic, but, in all probability, what look like archaisms are the result of the clerk's lack of skill, who found it difficult to put on parchment the words in his ear. We must suppose that, like all clerks of his age, he had a little Latin, but he may have had no formal instruction in French. This may account—and it is but a guess—for the forms *duos*, *duas*, and *marcas*. It will not, of course, account for *oscet*, as the plural of *ost*, or for *fiht*, to represent *fils*. These are curiosities of spelling. The word *encumbrement* presents a different problem: that here it means 'accoutrement' seems clear, but neither the verb *encombrer* nor the substantive is known elsewhere in this sense.

Apart from these few words, neither in language nor in spelling does the inquisition present departures from normal twelfth century usage.

[1] A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, pp. 466, *seq.*

[2] Giry, *loc. cit.*; for a facsimile of the Douai charter see H. Pirenne, *Album Belge de Diplomatique*, Pl. 27.

[3] *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 209.

[4] *Starrs and Jewish Charters* (Jewish Historical Society), i, 12-20, 124-127.

[5] As, for instance, the words '*a la warde de Duvre*' in the twelfth century charter, P.R.O., C. 146/2263.

# AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THE REVEREND RICHARD BAXTER TO THE CHIEF JUSTICE SIR MATTHEW HALE.[1]

My Lord,

The sight of yo$^{r}$ *Contemplations*[2] moveth me to send you thankes for writing them, whoever deserveth the thankes for publishing them. Though I saw part of them before in MS. it came not into my suspicion that they were yours, because my discourse with you had bin allwaies of other subjects. I was a stranger to yo$^{r}$ style in these, w$^{ch}$ perhaps may do as much good when you are dead as all the great things in yo$^{r}$ publike place, w$^{ch}$ haue justly advanced yo$^{r}$ name, haue done and will do. And perhaps it will prove one of the noblest uses of all yo$^{r}$ reputation to sugar these Theologicall verityes to some readers. You preach allready to many that will not heare us. And you will preach when you are gone hence. I hope many that highly valued yo$^{r}$ secular wisdome will be induced to thinke the better of spirituall wisdome when they see what it is y$^{t}$ you haue highlyest valued. I thought my due respects and loue to you could not haue bin so much increased as they are by these fruites of yo$^{r}$ truest wisdome, w$^{ch}$ tell us with whom and about what you haue secretly and most seriously conteyed. As true wisdome causeth holy practice, so O what an advantage haue holy practicall Christians to increase in wisdome! As much as I haue said otherwise for the Life to come and the Christian faith, I should haue bin but an uncomfortable Doubter, if I had not seen somew$^{t}$ uppon others, and found somew$^{t}$ in myselfe, w$^{ch}$ advanceth y$^{e}$ Church of serious believers aboue the unbelievers and hypocrites of the world. To dwell here with God (though in great darkness and dolefull strangenes) doth forme

[1] This letter is in the possession of Mr. J. Fairhurst, and we are indebted to him for permission to reproduce it here.

[2] *Contemplations, Moral and Divine*, London, 1676.

the soule so much to his likenes, and to his service, and his spirit is such an earnes[t] and foretast of Glory, and such a witnes within us of the truth of Christ, and of o$^{r}$ relation to him, as doth more to confirme faith than all y$^{t}$ we heare alone would do. When I heard ignorant men [1] talke of the witnes of y$^{e}$ spirit enthusiastically, it kept me from considering of y$^{t}$ w$^{ch}$ I am fully convinced of, y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ regenerating, illuminating, quickening spirit, disposing the soule with filiall affections to God, is Christ's great agent [2] in y$^{e}$ world, and his witnes and o$^{r}$s, and y$^{e}$ marke and grace of God uppon us. Experimentall knowledge only maketh truly wise. Only y$^{e}$ Living know w$^{t}$ Life is and only y$^{e}$ Seeing know w$^{t}$ Light and Sight are.

My Lord, whether you or I shall be first at home is hard to conjecture, but neither of us is like to be thence long. It is not farre from us nor is it [3] a long journey thither. If y$^{e}$ sun haue so much communion with us and all things here as its light and heate assure us, doubtles spirituall powers haue as much communion with us and as much to do on o$^{r}$ soules as y$^{e}$ sun hath on o$^{r}$ bodies. I am writing my owne funerall sermon on Phil. i. 23.[4] We never liue like believers indeed till y$^{e}$ thoughts of heaven be sweeter to us than all o$^{r}$ peace and hopes on earth, and till we truly believe y$^{t}$ it is better to depart and to be with Christ than to be here. You goe off the stage with more universall Loue and hono$^{r}$ than any man that English history ever mentioned y$^{t}$ was no king (and, alas, how few of them).[5] And yet w$^{t}$ is all that, if you had not the consolation of hono$^{r}$ from God, and a heavenly inheritance and reward? Is it no increase of y$^{e}$ misery of an Alexander or Cesar if in hell, to thinke how they are magnifyed on earth? O w$^{t}$ little impertinencies are all the great matters of this world, except as they endure to greater things! O precious Time! O, great and excellent worke of Time! O neare, O sure, O vast eternity!

[1] Added above the line.

[2] ' of Christ ' struck through after ' agent.'

[3] Added above the line.

[4] ' and ' is struck through after ' 23.' *Richard Baxter's Dying Thoughts upon Phil. i. 23* was published in 1683.

[5] Cf. the similarly worded praise in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* (pubd. Matthew Sylvester, 1696), iii. 176, lines 1-4.

My Lord, having flattered myselfe oft in vaine with the hope of better opportunity, I have lost my opportunity of craving a great favo[r] of you, w[ch] was, y[t] if you had ever read my booke called *Politicall Aphorismes* [1] (for I cannot expect you should purposely [2] read it) you would haue vouchsafed yo[r] freest and strictest censure of the later end of it, to direct and further my necessary repentance, where I erred. But now I am [3] sensible it is a thing unreasonable to crave, as heretofore yo[r] place and worke forbade it [4] me. But pardon me for saying, that if you left not this distracted world and land, without a *short, free, plaine* admonition and publike notification of yo[r] thoughts of its greatest diseases and the remedy, it would be a just returne to God for yo[r] hono[r] and a great improvement of it to its highest end. Even my Lord Bacon's *Considerations* [5] etc. were of much

London, 1604.

use. The Lord preserve and strengthen and comfort you, that in mellow ripenes of age and fruites you may easily drop off into his hand when you must goe.

My wiue's service with mine to yo[r] Lady, I remaine

Yo[r] se[r]vant and a thankful acknowledger of yo[r] favo[r]s,

Ri: Baxter.

May 2, 1676.

M[r] Read [6] is gone (from preaching to an ignorant poore people at Bloomsbury that haue no other) to prison [7] on y[e] Lords day for 6 months. And perhaps I may find y[t] way yet a neerer way to heaven than yours.

[Address:] To the Hono[rble] S[r] Matthew Hale, Lord Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench, this pesent, At Alderly in Gloucestershire. To be left at Marshfield. Post paid.

[1] *A Holy Commonwealth, or Political Aphorisms*, London, 1659.

[2] ' haue ' struck through after ' purposely.'

[3] Added above the line.

[4] Added above the line.

[5] *Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification of the Church of England,*

[6] Joseph Read.

[7] ' yeste ' struck through after ' prison.'

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